

PAINTINGS BY
JOHN TRUMBULL
AT
YALE UNIVERSITY

JOHN HILL MORGAN



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GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON
AT THE BATTLE OF TRENTON.

PAINTINGS BY
JOHN TRUMBULL

AT YALE UNIVERSITY
OF
HISTORIC SCENES AND PERSONAGES
PROMINENT IN
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

BY

JOHN HILL MORGAN

B.A. '93, LL.B. '96

AUTHOR OF "EARLY AMERICAN PAINTERS,"
"AN OUTLINE OF THE LIFE OF GILBERT STUART," ETC.

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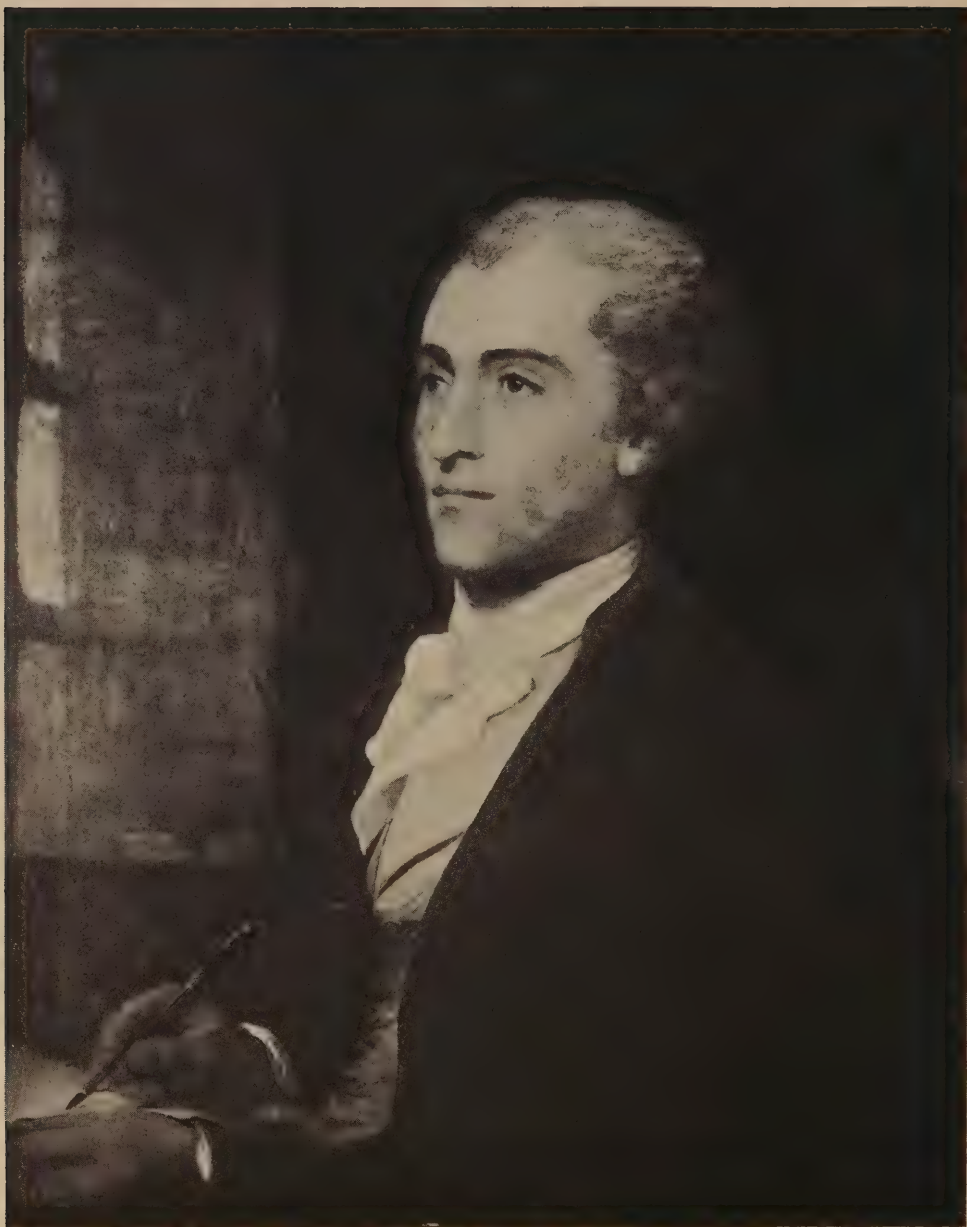
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FIRST of all, then, I have to tell you, as a fact of personal experience, that in all my poor Historical investigations it has been, and always is, one of the most primary wants to procure a bodily likeness of the personage inquired after; a good *Portrait* if such exists; failing that, even an indifferent if sincere one. In short, *any* representation, made by a faithful human creature, of that Face and Figure, which *he* saw with his eyes, and which I can never see with mine, is now valuable to me, and much better than none at all. . . . Often I have found a Portrait superior in real instruction to half a dozen written "Biographies," as Biographies are written. THOMAS CARLYLE.

FROM A LETTER DATED CHELSEA, 3D MAY 1854, TO DAVID LAING, ESQ.

PRINTED IN THE *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, VOL. I, PART 3.



JOHN TRUMBULL ÆT. 25.
FROM THE PORTRAIT BY GILBERT STUART IN PILGRIM HALL,
PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS.
(SEE NOTE C.)

JOHN TRUMBULL

AND HIS HISTORICAL PAINTINGS

AT YALE UNIVERSITY

JOHN TRUMBULL, the historical painter of the American Revolution, was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, on June 6, 1756, the son of Jonathan Trumbull and Faith Robinson. His father (Harvard, 1727) became famous as "Brother Jonathan," Revolutionary Governor of Connecticut. The painter was also a graduate of Harvard, entering the class of 1773 in the Junior year.

Trumbull early in life evidenced an interest in painting and shortly after reaching Cambridge made the acquaintance of John Singleton Copley, then the leading portrait painter in the Colonies. His own account of his introduction is as follows:

We found Mr. Copley dressed to receive a party of friends at dinner. I remember his dress and appearance—an elegant looking man, dressed in a fine maroon cloth, with gilt buttons—this was dazzling to my unpracticed eye!—but his paintings, the first I had ever seen deserving the name, riveted, absorbed my attention, and renewed all my desire to enter upon such a pursuit.*

After graduation, Trumbull taught school for a winter in Lebanon, but continued his study of painting, and quite naturally following the lead of his father, became deeply interested in the dispute between Great Britain and her Colonies.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, Trumbull marched to Boston under the command of Gen. Joseph Spencer, as Adjutant of the 1st Regiment of Connecticut troops. Stationed at Roxbury, he witnessed the Battle of Bunker's Hill from that place. He came to the attention of General Washington by drawing a plan of the enemies' works in front of the position of the Revolutionary Army on Boston Neck, and was shortly thereafter appointed his Aide-de-Camp.† In June of 1776 upon the assumption by General Gates of the command of the Army in the Northern Department, Trumbull was appointed his Adjutant. After service at Crown Point and

* *Reminiscences of His Own Times from 1756 to 1841*, by Col. J. Trumbull, New York, 1841, p. 11.

† The General Order is dated July 27, 1775.

Ticonderoga, he resigned on February 22, 1777, because his commission was dated the 12th of September instead of the 28th of June, 1776, the date of his appointment by General Gates.

Trumbull resumed his pencil and, moving to Boston, hired as a studio the painting room built by the Colonial artist, John Smibert. He found still there "several copies by him from celebrated pictures in Europe, which were very useful to me."* With the exception of a short term of service as volunteer Aide-de-Camp to General Sullivan in Rhode Island, Trumbull remained in Boston until the autumn of 1779 when he determined to go to England for study under Benjamin West, then the leading historical painter in Europe.

Trumbull reached London in July of 1780 and presented to West a letter of introduction from Benjamin Franklin. He began work immediately, occupying a painting room with Gilbert Stuart, who was a student under West at the time.

Trumbull was arrested on November 18, 1780, upon the arrival of news in London of the treason of Benedict Arnold, as a reprisal for the hanging of Major André. He was incarcerated in Tothill-fields, Bridewell, until June, 1781, when he was released upon condition that he leave the kingdom, West and Copley, the two famous American painters then living in London, acting as his sureties.

Trumbull returned to London in 1784 to complete his studies under West, and his influence can be clearly seen, as Trumbull says that it was during this period that he

began to meditate seriously the subjects of national history, of events of the Revolution, which have since been the great objects of my professional life.†

The desire to be an historical painter would naturally be stimulated by the example and success of West and Copley, and Trumbull's ambition finally crystallized into a determination to become the painter of the American Revolution, and several of his historical paintings were begun and two finished in West's studio.

Meeting Thomas Jefferson in London in the summer of 1785, upon his invitation Trumbull later visited Paris, and there submitted to him his two

* *Reminiscences, op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50.

† *Ibid.*, p. 93.

finished paintings, "The Battle of Bunker's Hill" and "The Death of General Montgomery at Quebec," and both Jefferson and John Adams, then Minister to Great Britain, advised with Trumbull and assisted him in selecting ten additional events to be painted.*

Of this number Trumbull completed eight—all about the same size—and these are now in the possession of Yale University.

The sketch for "The Declaration of Independence" was made at Jefferson's house in the Grille de Chaillot in 1786 with the assistance of his "information and advice." Returning to London, Trumbull completed the composition of "The Declaration of Independence," "The Surrender of Lord Cornwallis," "The Battle of Trenton," and "The Battle of Princeton" while in West's studio, leaving out the heads, however, which were to be filled in from life as the chance might be afforded. Thus, the head of John Adams was painted into "The Declaration of Independence" in London in the summer of 1787, Trumbull saying that just before Adams left the Court of St. James's he

had the powder combed out of his hair. Its color and natural curl were beautiful, and I took that opportunity to paint his portrait in the small Declaration of Independence.†

In the autumn he again visited Jefferson and there painted his portrait into the same canvas, and the portraits of the French officers in "The Surrender of Lord Cornwallis" "were painted from life in Mr. Jefferson's house."‡ Apparently he also left certain details in the backgrounds to be finished later from sketches made on the spot.

As Congress was to assemble in New York in December of 1789, Trumbull journeyed thither to pursue this work, and in that city he had sittings from Washington, and likewise painted the portraits of many distinguished characters into the canvases which had been begun, and later he traveled throughout the country on the same errand.§ In addition he painted many small portraits in oil on wood to be used in the scenes determined upon but not yet designed, and Yale possesses fifty-eight miniature portraits most of which were painted with this end in view. He also visited and sketched

* *Reminiscences, op. cit.*, pp. 93-95. The list agreed upon is given in the Introduction to Trumbull's Catalogue of 1841.

† *Ibid.*, p. 147.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-165.

historic places so that he might become familiar with the actual setting of the events he was depicting.

During these years (1789-1794) Trumbull lived, for the most part, in New York City, supporting himself by painting portraits while seeking in vain to obtain the financial backing of the Government for his project. The portraits of this period, when Trumbull was fresh from six years' study abroad, at least three of which were passed under the instruction of West, are his best work and will take rank equal with examples of any American painter of the time, Gilbert Stuart alone excepted.

Failing to obtain Government support, Trumbull accompanied John Jay to London in May, 1794, and acted as his secretary while he was negotiating the treaty with Great Britain, famous in our history as "Jay's Treaty." In 1796 he was appointed one of the commissioners to carry out Article Seventh of that Treaty and remained about eight years in London engaged in this important work.

Trumbull resumed his residence in New York in 1804 and sought to regain his place as a portrait painter, but his ten years of foreign service, during which time he exercised his talent but seldom, seem to have robbed his hand of much of its cunning. A few of the portraits of this period (1804-1808) evidence his capacity and early training.* Trumbull attributed his lack of success to the embargo placed by President Jefferson, in the autumn of 1808, on all commerce which accomplished its destruction and which he says threatened "the prosperity of those friends from whom I derived my subsistence,"† but it almost seems as if his genius had flared for a few brief years and then gone out forever, so marked is the division between the work of his youth and that of later life. In any event, he once more sailed abroad, landing at Falmouth January 9, 1809, and, caught in England at the outbreak of the War of 1812, he was forced to remain there until August of 1815.

The Capitol at Washington having been partially destroyed by the British in 1814, Trumbull saw the opportunity in its restoration of realizing his ambition and he applied for the commission to decorate the Rotunda with enlargements from his small originals. For this purpose several of the can-

* See the portrait of Robert Benson in the N. Y. Historical Society signed "Trumbull Pinxit 1804."

† *Reminiscences, op. cit.*, p. 246.



JOHN TRUMBULL ÆT. 76.
FROM THE PORTRAIT BY WALDO AND JEWETT IN THE
YALE SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS.

vases now owned by Yale University were exhibited in the House of Representatives in 1816 and as a result a resolution passed both houses of the Congress to employ Trumbull to execute four paintings

Commemorative of the most important events of the American revolution, to be placed, when finished, in the Capitol of the United States.*

The choice of the subjects, and the size of the paintings, were left to the President.

Trumbull tells of his interview with Madison, in which the President first suggested the Battle of Bunker's Hill as one subject, but as only four of his paintings had been ordered, he recommended "The Surrender of General Burgoyne," "The Surrender of Lord Cornwallis," "The Declaration of Independence," and "The Resignation of Washington." These were finally selected by President Madison and Trumbull engaged for the sum of \$36,000 to enlarge them to a size eighteen feet by twelve, with life-size figures.

Trumbull first enlarged "The Declaration of Independence" and, when finished, exhibited it during the years 1818-1820 in several cities of the United States with great success.†

Dunlap, in the first book on the subject of American art, says of this painting:

Public expectation was perhaps never raised so high respecting a picture, as in this case; and although the painter had only to copy his own beautiful original of former days, a disappointment was felt and loudly expressed. Faults which escaped detection in the miniature, were glaring when magnified—the tone and the coloring were not there—attitudes which appeared constrained in the original, were awkward in the copy—many of the likenesses had vanished.‡

* *Reminiscences, op. cit.*, p. 262. Trumbull wrote Jefferson on December 26, 1816: "The Declaration of Independence is finished—Trenton Princeton and York Town which were long since finished & engraved—I shall take them all with me to the Seat of Government, in a few days that I may not merely talk of what I will do but show what I have done."

† It was exhibited in New York from October 5 to November 7, 1818, to 6,375 visitors; in Boston from November 30 to December 19, 1818, to 6,395 visitors; in Philadelphia from January 12 to January 23, 1819, to 5,198 visitors; and in Baltimore from February 2 to February 13, 1819, to 2,734 visitors. From Trumbull's *Account Books* in the possession of The Fridenberg Galleries, New York.

‡ *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, William Dunlap, New York, 1834, Vol. I, p. 376. John Quincy Adams has left us also his unfavorable criticism of the enlargement. Under date of September 1, 1818, he wrote in his diary: "Called about eleven o'clock at Mr. Trumbull's house, and saw his picture of the Declaration of Inde-

"The Surrender of Cornwallis" was enlarged next and in turn was exhibited in New York, Boston and Baltimore in 1820.

"The Surrender of General Burgoyne" and "The Resignation of Washington" were enlarged from compositions painted at about this time, now owned by Yale, and the four enlargements installed in the Rotunda of the Capitol in Washington under Trumbull's supervision in 1824.

In considering Dunlap's severe criticisms on the enlargements now in the Capitol, it must be borne in mind always that he was extremely hostile to Trumbull, and yet accuracy requires agreement with his conclusions. The truth is that Trumbull was a first class painter in miniature. His small portraits are in oil on canvas or on wood, and his work in this field is excelled only by some of the miniatures by Malbone, and equaled only by the best work of Fraser and Trott. Some of his life-size portraits done before 1794 (when he left painting for diplomacy) will stand the severest test, but when, however, in 1816, at the age of sixty, he undertook to enlarge his small originals, twenty by thirty inches, to a size twelve by eighteen feet, the result bears silent witness to the fact that he had had no training in this branch of art and for twenty years before he had been at the most an unsuccessful painter.

It must be borne in mind also that the criticisms of Dunlap and other writers are solely directed at the enlargements and all agree on the beauty and value of the small canvases.*

The paintings in Washington cannot be used, therefore, as fair examples of the art of John Trumbull, but his reputation must stand upon the original compositions at Yale. The importance of the canvases and miniatures in the Trumbull Gallery lies in the fact that they are original portraits from life and are the work of Trumbull's early and brilliant youth and in a field in which he excelled, while the enlargements therefrom are the work of his declining years.

Trumbull attempted in vain to induce the Government to commission him to fill the remaining panels of the Rotunda, and failing this to sell his

pendence, which is now nearly finished. I cannot say I was disappointed in the execution of it, because my expectations were very low; . . . I think the old small picture far superior to this large new one."

* Dunlap says: "The pictures of the Battle of Trenton and Princeton, are among the most admirable miniatures in oil that ever were painted. The same may be said of the portraits in the small picture of the 'Surrender of Cornwallis,'" *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 361.

collection of Revolutionary portraits to the nation, but his impaired health and failing powers brought him into evil times, wherein at last he sought another way by which to use his early work to furnish support for his old age.

Trumbull tells us, in his *Reminiscences*, the pathetic story of how when funds began to diminish he was forced to sell "scraps of furniture, fragments of plate, etc.," and of how many pictures remained on his hands unsold, and to all appearance unsaleable. It occurred to him that although "the hope of a sale to the nation, or to a state, became more and more desperate from day to day," yet some private institution might be willing to possess the paintings, making payment therefor by a life annuity. He first considered his alma mater, Harvard, but finally chose Yale, as she was within his native state and poor, for Trumbull, throughout his life, appreciated the importance of his Revolutionary portraits and never wavered from the conviction that some day their great historic value would be recognized, and he believed that their exhibition would be a source of revenue to the College. The matter was suggested to the Trustees of Yale College by a friend, and a contract, dated December 19, 1831, signed, by which Trumbull, in consideration of an annuity of \$1,000, in addition to the miniature portraits of persons distinguished during the Revolution, and certain copies of old masters, deeded to Yale the

Eight original paintings of subjects from the American Revolution, *viz.*,

1. The Battle of Bunker's Hill.
2. The Death of General Montgomery at Quebec.
3. The Declaration of Independence.
4. The Battle of Trenton.
5. The Battle of Princeton.
6. The Surrender of General Burgoyne.
7. The Surrender of Lord Cornwallis.
8. Washington resigning his Commission.*

Yale College bound herself to erect a fireproof building for the reception of the paintings, of such form and dimensions as Trumbull should approve, and after the paintings were arranged that they should be exhibited and the profits first applied to the payment of the annuity, and all the profits after his death

* *Reminiscences, op. cit.*, pp. 289-293.



THE TRUMBULL GALLERY.

ERECTED BY YALE COLLEGE IN 1832. DEMOLISHED IN 1901.

perpetually appropriated towards defraying the expenses of educating poor scholars in Yale College, under such regulations as the said President and Fellows, and their successors, shall from time to time see fit to make.*

Trumbull afterward superintended the building of the Trumbull Gallery, which stood upon the Yale Campus until the year 1901. He made, later, several additions, so that the Gallery in 1841, when he wrote his *Reminiscences*, contained, in addition to the miniatures,

fifty-five pictures by my own hand, painted at various periods, from my earliest essay of the "Battle of Cannæ," to my last composition, the "Deluge," including the eight small original pictures of the American Revolution, which contain the portraits painted from life.†

It is true that Trumbull chose to depict in "The Battle of Bunker's Hill," and in "The Death of General Montgomery at Quebec," the success of our foes, and in regard to "Bunker's Hill" he is said to have adopted the British rather than the American account of the battle. At the same time, these canvases contain portraits from life painted by one of the first painters of the age, a man who had served in the Revolution and who was familiar with the scenes of action.‡ It is fair to state that the large majority of the people of the United States think of the Battle of Bunker's Hill and the Declaration of Independence only in terms of Trumbull's compositions, so universal has been their use to depict these events in our history.

Nowhere else but at Yale can be found likenesses of many of the actors in these scenes, and nowhere else but at Yale can be found together so many original portraits of persons prominent in the Revolution. For the student of American history who seeks to learn what manner of men these were, the Trumbull canvases and miniatures, containing about two hundred and fifty portraits, are the most important source of original information that exists.

* *Reminiscences*, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-293. "The Receipts from the exhibition of the paintings for the year 1832 were \$930, and for the year 1833, \$847." *Report of the Treasurer to Trumbull*. (Yale University Library.)

† *Reminiscences*, p. 293.

‡ Trumbull in writing to Jefferson of his qualifications to paint the scenes of the Revolution, quite rightly stated that "some superiority also arose from my having borne personally a humble part in the great events I was to describe. No one lives with me possessing this advantage, and no one can come after me to divide the honor of truth and authenticity, however easily I may hereafter be exceeded in elegance." Letter to Jefferson, June 11, 1789.

In closing his *Reminiscences* Trumbull says,

Thus I derive present subsistence principally from this source (*i.e.*, the annuity from Yale) and have besides the happy reflection, that when I shall have gone to my rest, these works will remain a source of good to many a poor, perhaps meritorious and excellent man.

In considering the misfortunes of Trumbull's latter years, it is at least a satisfaction to know that Yale made these years comfortable and in return received from him a great inheritance. Trumbull died in 1843, and was interred on the Yale Campus under the building which contained so much of the important work of his long life covering a span of eighty-eight years. There was an inscription over his tomb which read:

COL. JOHN TRUMBULL,
Patriot and Artist,
Friend and Aid
OF WASHINGTON,
Died in New-York, Nov. 10, 1843,
Æ. 88.
He reposes in a Sepulchre
Built by himself, beneath
THIS MONUMENTAL GALLERY;
where in Sept. 1834,
He deposited the remains of
SARAH his WIFE,
who died in N. Y. Apr. 12, 1824, Æ. 51.

To his Country he gave his
SWORD and his PENCIL.

In the passing of the years the "monumental gallery" has vanished, but Trumbull's fame rests on firm foundation in the work of his hand which Yale possesses.

THE TRUMBULL GALLERY

IN 1841 Trumbull published a catalogue of his works then exhibited in the "Gallery of Yale College, New Haven," and in the introduction explained the purpose of their painting, a part of which is as follows:

In submitting to the view of the public the series of paintings, commemorating important events of the American Revolution, the consideration, that an entire generation of men have passed away since the enterprise was commenced, and that very few are now living who were actors in the scenes represented, renders it proper to give some historical account of their origin, in order to establish their claim to authenticity in view of posterity. . . .

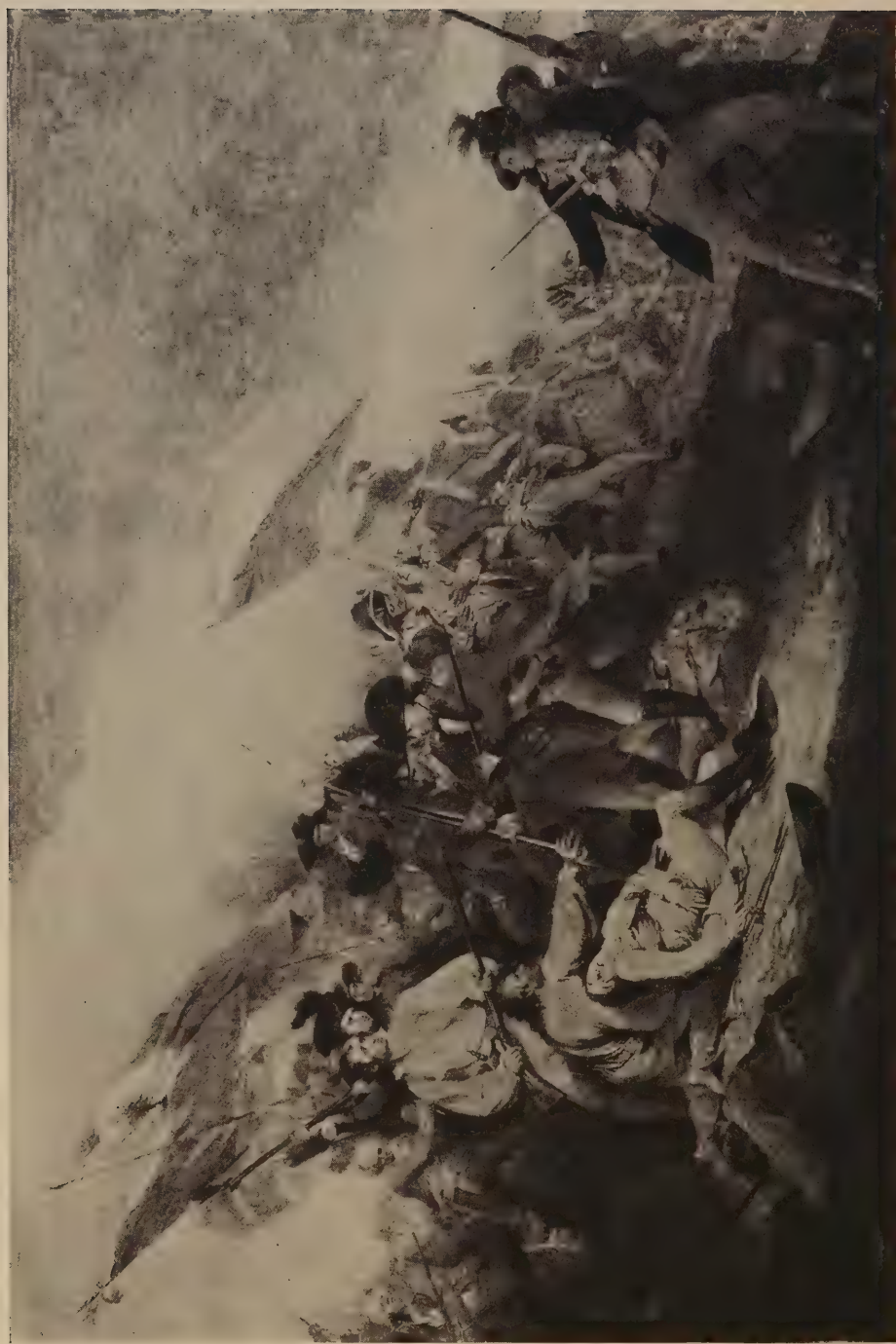
Ardently anticipating the vast consequences of the Revolution, and the future greatness of his country; and having a natural taste for drawing, in which he had already made some progress, . . . Colonel Trumbull resolved to cultivate that talent, with the hope of binding his name to the great events of the time, by becoming the graphic historiographer of them, and of his early comrades.

With this in view, he devoted himself to the study of the art of painting, first in America, and afterwards in Europe; and in the year 1786, he produced in London his first considerable historical work, the death of General Warren at the battle of Bunker's Hill. (No. 3 of this collection.) . . .

Several of the compositions were immediately studied and prepared for the future introduction of the intended portraits, particularly the Declaration of Independence; so that, before the two great men above named (John Adams and Thomas Jefferson), returned to the United States, from their respective embassies, their portraits were painted in the work now submitted to view, (No. 9)—the one in London, the other in Paris. The portraits of the French officers in the picture of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, (No. 29) were also painted from life, in Paris, in the house of Mr. Jefferson in the year 1787.

After the present constitution of the United States had been adopted, the artist, in the autumn of 1789, returned to America, to pursue his work. He found Congress assembled in New York, then the seat of government; and, having procured the portraits of General Washington, and of many other distinguished characters, in the several compositions for which they were intended, he afterwards travelled through various parts of the country, from New Hampshire to South Carolina, in search of others; and in 1794, had nearly completed the collection of portraits, views of places, and all the various materials necessary to the execution of his entire plan.

During this period the work attracted much attention, and was generally approved. All saw the correctness of the portraits; many knew the accuracy of the circumstances recorded: and it was proposed to employ the artist to execute the entire series for the nation. This proposal failed to be carried into effect; not through any opposition from



THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL. JUNE 17, 1775.

any quarter to the propriety and fitness of the object, but because the nation then possessed no building proper to receive and preserve such works; and because doubts existed then, as they have since, in the minds of some gentlemen, whether Congress possessed the right of appropriating the public money to such purposes.

In the meantime the French revolution had commenced, and its subsequent convulsions diverted the attention of all mankind, during many years, from the fine arts, and from all the works and thoughts of peace; and the further prosecution of this object was suspended, until the government of the United States, in the year 1816, were pleased to pass a resolution, authorizing the artist to execute four of the subjects for the nation—just thirty years after he had painted the “Battle of Bunker’s Hill.”

The following description of the scenes of Trumbull’s historical paintings are from his catalogue of 1841. His numbering has been continued and notes added:

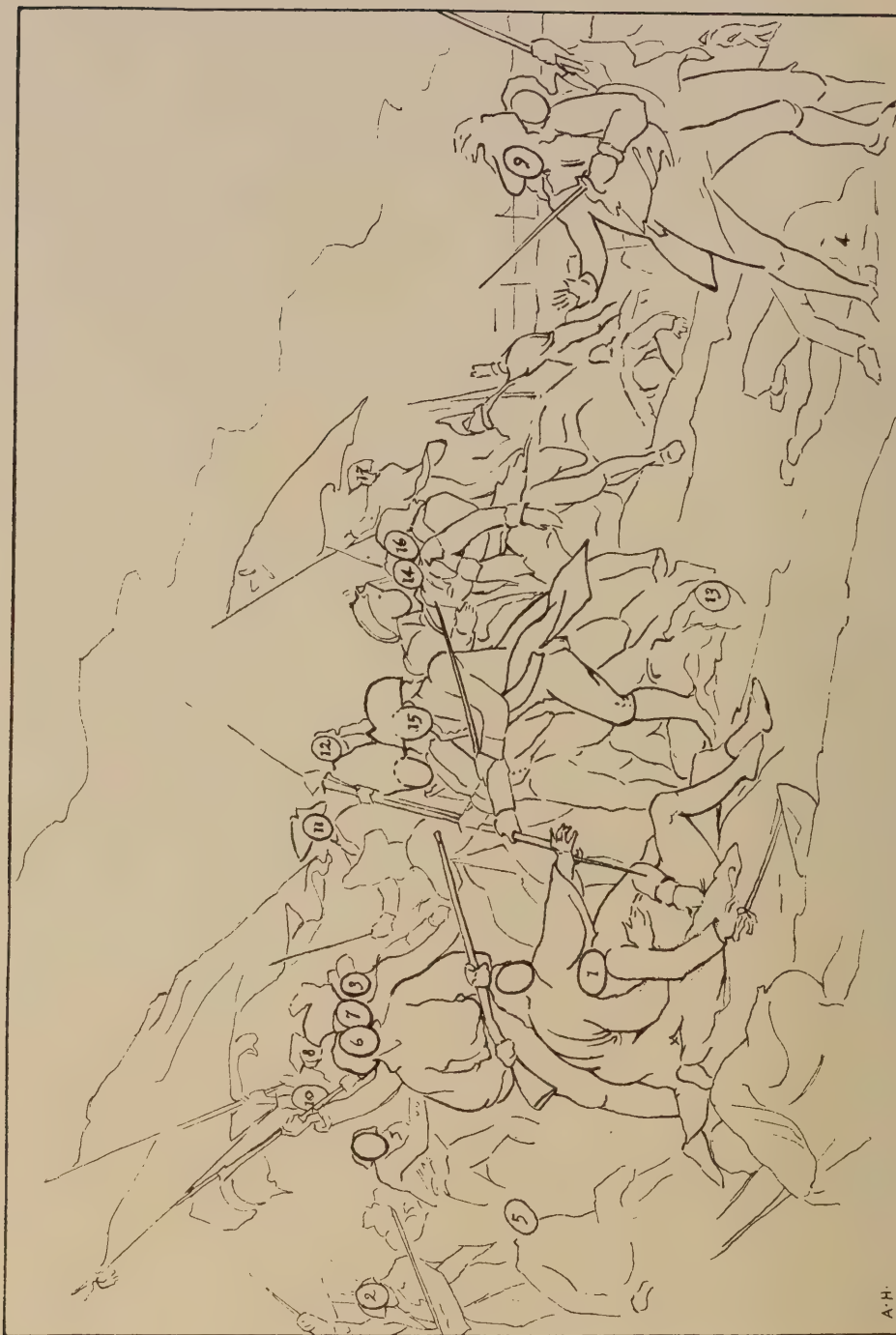
“No. 3.—THE BATTLE OF BUNKER’S HILL.—*June 17, 1775.*”

Painted by Trumbull in the studio of Benjamin West, London. Finished March, 1786.* On canvas twenty-five by thirty-four inches.

. . . This painting represents the moment when (the Americans having expended their ammunition) the British troops became completely successful and masters of the field. At this last moment of the action, Gen. Warren was killed by a musket ball through the head. The principal group represents him expiring; a soldier on his knees supports him, and with one hand wards off the bayonet of a British grenadier, . . . Col. Small . . . is represented seizing the musket of the grenadier, to prevent the fatal blow, . . . Near this side of the painting is seen General Putnam, reluctantly ordering the retreat of these brave men; . . . Behind Col. Small is seen Col. Pitcairn, of the British marines, mortally wounded, and falling in the arms of his son, . . . Under the heel of Col. Small lies the dead body of Col. Abercrombie. Gen. Howe, who commanded the British troops, and Gen. Clinton, . . . are seen behind the principal group. (From Trumbull’s Catalogue, 1841.)

The following list is taken from the *Key* sold with the engraving by J. G. Müller. [Published March, 1798, by A. C. de Poggi, No. 91 New Bond St., London]:

* Trumbull’s *Account of Paintings* in the Yale University Library.



KEY TO THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL.
(See p. 29.)

AMERICANS

- *1. Gen^l Warren
- *2. Putnam
- 3. Col^l Prescott
- 4. Gardner
- 5. Lieu^t Col^l Parker
- 6. Maj^r Knowlton
- 7. McClery
- 8. Moore
- 9. Lieu^t Grosvenor
- 10. Rever^d M^r McClintock

BRITISH

- *11. Gen^l Howe
- *12. Clinton
- 13. Col^l Abercrombie
- *14. Maj^r Pitcairn
- *15. Small
- *16. Lieu^t Pitcairn
- 17. Ensⁿ Lord Rawdon
(now Earl Moira)

Those which are marked with a Star are the only real likenesses. The others are intended as mere memorandums of Men who were either distinguished or killed, or wounded in the Action; and of whom no actual Portrait could be obtained.

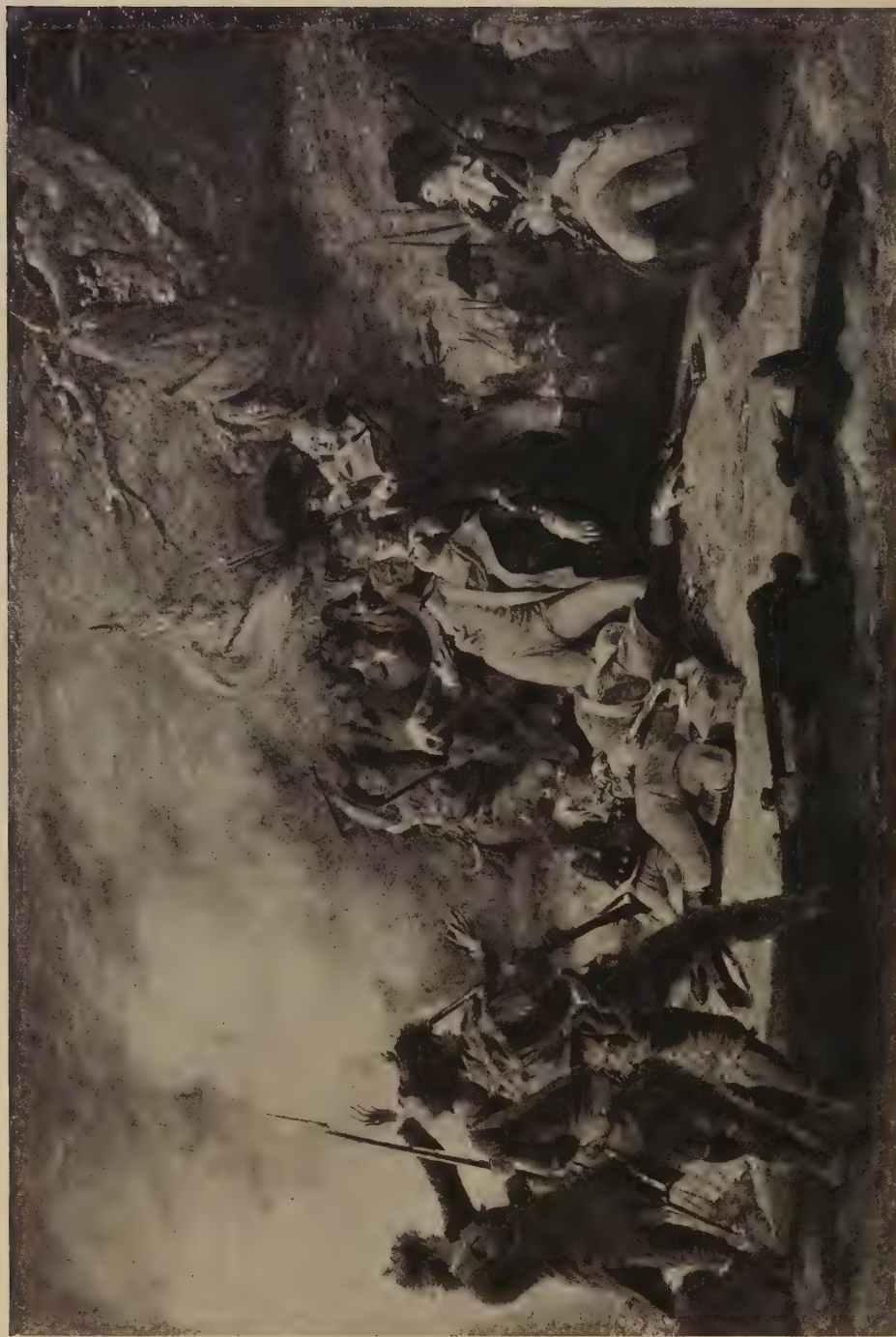
From what source Trumbull obtained the likeness of General Warren is not known. It is probable that he copied the portrait by Copley. The portrait of General Putnam resembles Trumbull's pencil sketch of him sold at the Silliman sale (No. 37).^{*} The portraits of the British officers, Howe, Clinton, and Small, were painted in London between 1784-1786 either from life or from portraits by others. The portrait of Major John Pitcairn was painted from "his son Dr. Pitcairn of London" in 1786 and Trumbull's portrait in pencil of him was included in the Silliman sale (No. 47). The portrait of Lieutenant William Pitcairn was probably done from life. A sketch in sepia and wash, five and one-half by eight and one-eighth inches, endorsed "J. Trumbull. Death of Gen. Warren at Bunker's Hill June 17, 1775. Painted 1785 & 6," a pencil sketch and a sketch in detail in sepia wash and pencil, were Nos. 1, 2 and 3 in the Silliman sale. These were, no doubt, the preliminary studies made in West's studio.

Of this canvas Professor Weir has written:

His picture [Battle of Bunker's Hill] is the more remarkable, therefore, as a product of his imaginative genius working upon carefully collated facts gathered from various sources, from persons actually engaged in the fight, and from sketches made on the spot at a later day. That this picture has the character of an impression received by an eye witness is a triumph of art, and the historical accuracy of the work is matched by the technical skill with which it is executed. That Trumbull should have produced this masterpiece at the beginning of his career as an artist is only another evidence, often remarked of greater masters, that genius seems to require no preparation, that it is born with its powers already matured.[†]

^{*} On December 17, 1896, were dispersed at the Auction Rooms of Thos. Birch's Sons, Philadelphia, portraits, sketches and studies of John Trumbull. These were sold by order of Benjamin Silliman of Brooklyn, who had inherited them in direct descent from Trumbull's estate.

[†] *John Trumbull and His Works*, John F. Weir, p. 21.



THE DEATH OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY, IN THE ATTACK OF QUEBEC.
DECEMBER 31, 1775.

"No. 5.—THE DEATH OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY, IN THE ATTACK OF QUEBEC.—*December 31, 1775.*"

Painted by Trumbull in the studio of Benjamin West, London. Finished June, 1786.* On canvas twenty-five by thirty-six inches.

So early as 1775, in the very first moments of the contest, it was determined to attempt the reduction of Canada, and its annexation to the general confederacy. . . .

The expedition, composed only of eleven hundred men, left Cambridge, the headquarters of the grand army, before Boston, on the 13th of September, 1775, embarked at Newburyport, and arrived at the mouth of the Kennebec river on the 20th; ascended that river, then very imperfectly known, through a thinly peopled country, following its course so long as it afforded any facilities of communication or transport; then entering upon a tract of mountainous country, utterly unexplored by civilized man, pursued a course through the wilderness, . . . until he struck upon the head waters of the Chaudière, . . . and in sight of the City of Quebec, . . . on the 5th of November. . . .

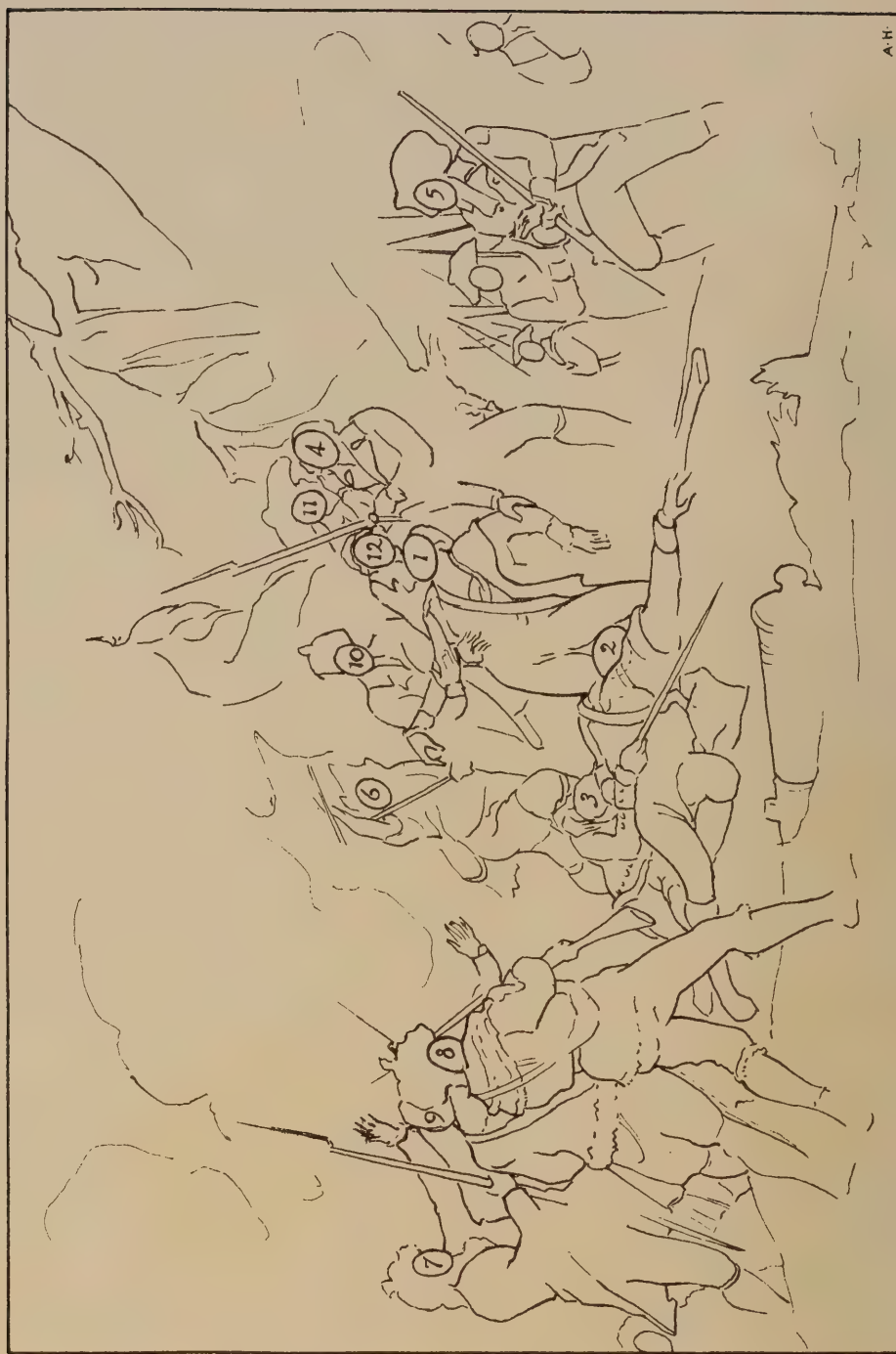
The term of service for which American troops has enlisted, generally expired on the 1st of January, 1776, and it was found that there existed great reluctance to enter into any further engagement. General Montgomery therefore resolved to make one last effort, and in defiance of frost, snow and tempest, a gallant but desperate attempt was made on the night of the 30th of December, to carry Quebec by storm. The attack was made in two columns; one under the immediate command of General Montgomery, attempted the lower town; the other, commanded by General Arnold, was directed against the upper.

The discharge of a single cannon was fatal to General Montgomery and his two aids-du-camp, and this misfortune occasioned the retreat of his column. . . .

That part of the scene is chosen where General Montgomery commanded in person; and that moment, when by his unfortunate death, the plan of attack was entirely disconcerted, and the consequent retreat of his column decided at once the fate of the place, and of such of the assailants as had already entered at another point. (From Trumbull's Catalogue of 1841.)

The following list is taken from the *Key* sold with the engraving by J. T. Clemens. [London, Published March, 1798, by A. C. de Poggi No. 91, New Bond Street, London]:

* From Trumbull's *Account of Paintings* in the Yale University Library.



KEY TO DEATH OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY, IN THE ATTACK OF QUEBEC.

AMERICANS

- *1. General Montgomery, of New York. Uniform of the Staff Blue and Buff.
- *2. Major Cheesman. A.D.C. of Gen^l Montgomery
- *3. Major Macpherson Do Do } of Phil^a.
- 4. Col^l Donald Campbell, Quarter Master Gen^l, & second in Command—N. York.
- 5. Col^l Thompson, of Pennsylvania.
- 6. An Indian Chief known by the name of Col^l Louis.
- 7. Major Meigs, of Connecticut.
- 8. Captⁿ Hendricks, Riflemen of Virginia.
- 9. Captⁿ Ward.
- 10. Lieu^t Humphries.
- 11. Cooper.
- 12. Ogden.

Those which are marked with a Star are the only real likenesses. The others are intended as mere memorandums of Men who were either distinguished or killed, or wounded in the Action; and of whom no Actual Portrait could be obtained.

From what source Trumbull obtained the portraits of Major Cheesman and Major Macpherson is not known. Possibly that of General Montgomery was adapted from a print of his portrait by C. W. Peale which it resembles. Both this painting and "The Battle of Bunker's Hill" were left by Trumbull in September, 1786, with M. de Poggi in Frankfort to be engraved, but three years later he complains that nothing had been done.

This picture shows clearly the influence of West on Trumbull. Canova's criticism that "West did not compose, he grouped models together" can be felt in part. One misses the rush of the victorious British column surging over the ridge, as in "The Battle of Bunker's Hill," but Trumbull has partially avoided the division into three groups—that is, a main group which tells the story and a balancing group on each side—so often found in the historical works of West. (See "The Death of Wolf.") The treatment of the hands in Trumbull's main group is excellent while the hands in the figures of No. 5 and No. 7 are clearly reminiscent of the arrangement required by the classic school.

"No. 7.—BATTLE OF PRINCETON,—original composition (partly finished) of No. 23."

Painted in West's studio in 1786-1787. On canvas twenty-five by thirty-six inches.

When the size of the intended copper-plates was determined, the artist resolved in his future pictures to adopt the size of those plates, as being more convenient to the engraver. This picture, which is the same size as the Bunker's Hill and Quebec, and



ORIGINAL COMPOSITION FOR THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON.

much larger than the copper-plates, is placed in the collection, to explain to future artists the manner of proceeding with the work: they will see that the ground was white on which the work was first merely sketched,—then faintly stained with positive colors,—and finally, each head and figure carefully finished from nature. (From Trumbull's Catalogue of 1841.)

The size of this canvas indicates that this was the third of the series of historical compositions begun by Trumbull, as the remaining six (including the completed canvas of this scene, No. 23) are all twenty by thirty inches, *i.e.*, the size of the proposed engravings. Also its spirit and the vibrant qualities displayed entitle it to rank with "The Death of Montgomery" and "The Battle of Bunker's Hill," by far Trumbull's greatest imaginative works.

"No. 9.—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—*July 4, 1776.*"

Composed and commenced* by Trumbull in the studio of Benjamin West, London, 1786. On canvas twenty by thirty inches.

To preserve the resemblance of the men who were the authors of this memorable act, was an essential object of this painting. Important difficulties presented themselves to the artist at the outset; for although only ten years had then elapsed since the date of the event, it was already difficult to ascertain who were the individuals to be represented. Should he regard the fact of having been actually present in the room on the 4th of July, indispensable? Should he admit those only who were in favor of, and reject those who were opposed to the act? Where a person was dead, and no authentic portrait could be obtained, should he admit ideal heads? These were questions on which Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson were consulted, and they concurred in the advice, that with regard to the characters to be introduced, the signatures of the original act, (which is still preserved in the office of state,) ought to be the general guide.

The artist . . . spared neither labor nor expense in obtaining his portraits from the living men. . . .

The dresses are faithfully copied from the costume of the time, the present fashion of pantaloons and trowsers being then unknown among gentlemen.

*In his *Account of Paintings* in the Yale University Library Trumbull states,

"During this period [while under West] I composed and commenced in cloths 20 x 30 inches

The Declaration of Independence

The Surrender of Lord Cornwallis

The Battle of Trenton and

The Battle at Princeton

these were intended for the Engraver and have been since far advanced, all the portraits having been painted from the Life."



DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. JULY 4, 1776.



A H

KEY TO DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The room is copied from that in which Congress held their sessions at the time, such as it was before the spirit of innovation laid unhallowed hands upon it, and violated its venerable walls by modern improvement, as it is called. (From Trumbull's Catalogue of 1841.)

At the Silliman sale there was a sketch (No. 6) entitled "The first idea of the Declaration of Independence, Paris Sept. 1786." Also a sketch on the same sheet endorsed by Trumbull: "Done by Mr. Jefferson, Paris, 1786 to convey an idea of the room in which Congress sat at the Declaration of Independence, on the ground floor of the Old State House in Philadelphia,—Left hand at entering." It was during Trumbull's visit to Jefferson that he began this composition, "with the assistance of his information and advice" (*Reminiscences*, p. 96). Returning to London, Trumbull "composed and began" this canvas, leaving out the heads to be painted in as opportunity offered.

The following list is taken from the *Key* sold with the engraving of this picture by Asher Brown Durand, published December 20, 1820. It differs materially in its numbering from the *Key* published in 1859 by R. & C. Metzgeroth of the enlargements in the Capitol, which apparently was copied from a broadside containing Trumbull's proposal to publish a print by subscription, and widely used in identifying the portraits in this canvas. As the Durand *Key* was the corrected publication, its numbering is authoritative and should be adopted.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. George Wythe. | 16. Charles Carroll. |
| 2. William Whipple. | 17. Robert Morris. |
| 3. Joseph Bartlett. | 18. Thomas Willing. |
| 4. Thomas Lynch. | 19. Benjamin Rush. |
| 5. Benjamin Harrison. | 20. Elbridge Gerry. |
| 6. Richard Henry Lee. | 21. Robert Treat Paine. |
| 7. Samuel Adams. | 22. William Hooper. |
| 8. George Clinton. | 23. Stephen Hopkins. |
| 9. William Paca. | 24. William Ellery. |
| 10. Samuel Chase. | 25. George Clymer. |
| 11. Rich. Stockton. | 26. Joseph Hewes. |
| 12. Lewis Morris. | 27. George Walton. |
| 13. William Floyd. | 28. James Wilson. |
| 14. Arthur Middleton. | 29. Abraham Clark. |
| 15. Thomas Heyward, Jr. | 30. Francis Hopkinson. |

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 31. John Adams. | 40. William Williams. |
| 32. Roger Sherman. | 41. Oliver Wolcott. |
| 33. Robert R. Livingston. | 42. Charles Thomson. |
| 34. Thomas Jefferson. | 43. John Hancock. |
| 35. Benjamin Franklin. | 44. George Read. |
| 36. Thomas Nelson, Jr. | 45. John Dickinson. |
| 37. Francis Lewis. | 46. Edward Rutledge. |
| 38. John Witherspoon. | 47. Thomas McKean. |
| 39. Samuel Huntington. | 48. Philip Livingston. |

The portraits were painted directly into the canvas from life between 1789 and 1794, as Trumbull returned to New York upon the reassembling of the 1st Congress there in December of 1789 for that purpose. He is said also to have carried the canvas about the country with him to take advantage of any occasion which might offer. Possibly a few were done from pencil portraits, as at the Silliman sale were dispersed portrait sketches of George Wythe drawn at Williamsburg April 25, 1791 (No. 51); Samuel Chase (No. 59); and John Hancock endorsed "Governor Hancock, Boston, Nov. 25, 1790" (No. 48). Trumbull has given us the dates of painting in some of the portraits: Adams, in London during the summer of 1787; Jefferson, in Paris in September, 1787; Arthur Middleton, Thomas Heyward and Edward Rutledge, in Charleston, S. C., in February of 1790. Fifteen men who signed the Declaration are not represented, probably because they were not present at the actual vote or were dead at the time of Trumbull's painting. The portraits of four who were present at its adoption but who did not sign the Declaration, George Clinton, Robert R. Livingston of New York, Thomas Willing of Philadelphia, and John Dickinson of Delaware, are included. Trumbull's reason was that portraits of those who opposed should be given also, "particularly John Dickinson of Delaware, author of the *Farmer's Letters*, who was the most eloquent and powerful opposer of the measure; not indeed of its principle, but of the fitness of the time, which he considered premature." Of the four Yale Signers Trumbull painted the portraits of three: Philip Livingston, Lewis Morris, and Oliver Walcott.

Trumbull twice alludes to the change in the architecture of the room in which the scene is laid. Once in his catalogue hereinbefore quoted and in a letter to John Adams he said: "I preserve faithfully the costume of the day, and the architecture of the Room, which I very much regret to find has

lately been destroyed by that restless spirit of Change, which so much prevails in this Country.”* We know that the room painted by Trumbull is quite different in detail from its appearance on July 4, 1776, from the following: Robert Edge Pine, a well-known English historical painter, came to America in 1784 and on November 15 *The Pennsylvania Packet* carries his advertisement that as he had been “honored with the use of a commodious apartment in the Statehouse, for the purpose of painting the most illustrious scenes in the late revolution” he invites the public to view his works. Pine died in Philadelphia November 19, 1788, and the inventory of his estate includes four unfinished historical paintings of the American Revolution, one of which was entitled “The American Congress Voting Independence.” This painting afterwards came into the possession of Edward Savage and was finished and engraved by him. The detail of the architecture is totally different from that shown in Trumbull’s painting and accords with the period (1745) when the assembly room in the State House was finished. Pine was a talented and trained history painter and as in 1784 he was occupying “an apartment” in the very building, it cannot be doubted but that he accurately copied the details of the assembly or what is now known as the “Independence Chamber.”† Pine’s painting was used as a guide in the restoration of the Chamber in 1900. The interior of the room would appear to have been completely changed after 1784, when Pine painted it. We know that Trumbull possessed Jefferson’s sketch made in Paris in 1786 and that there was sold at the Silliman sale, among Trumbull’s effects, “Joseph Sansom’s sketch of the room in which Congress sat at the Time of the Declaration of Independence” (No. 138).

It is impossible to determine whether Trumbull adapted Jefferson’s sketch made from memory or made use of Sansom’s in his picture, as both have disappeared. Probably it was imaginary, as the general style would accord with the time of Trumbull’s painting (1786). The chair (of Chipendale design) and the desk (Sheraton) actually used by Hancock are preserved in Independence Hall and do not in the least resemble those painted by Trumbull.

This painting has been somewhat unfairly criticised in a thoughtful

* Letter dated December 26, 1817, in Trumbull’s *Letter Book*, Yale University Library.

† The facts concerning Pine are taken from an article by Charles Henry Hart, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXIX, p. 1.

analysis by John H. Hazleton based on what the writer believes to be a misconception of Trumbull's idea. The legislative chronology of the Declaration is as follows: The initial resolution that the "Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States" (still preserved in the handwriting of R. H. Lee) was introduced June 7th, debated on the 8th and 10th and further consideration postponed until July 1st. In the meantime a committee to draft a Declaration was appointed, consisting of Jefferson, John Adams, Franklin, R. R. Livingston and Sherman. A draft was reported June 28th, debated in committee of the whole on July 1st and adopted. The draft was adopted by Congress on the 2d; debated again on 2d, 3d and 4th and finally adopted as amended on July 4, 1776. On July 19th it was ordered to be "engrossed on parchment" and "when engrossed be signed by every member of Congress."* The engrossed resolution was not ready for signature until August.

Mr. Hazleton criticises the painting on each of two theories, that it should represent with historic accuracy the scene on June 28th when the Declaration was reported, or July 4th when it was adopted and he points out that Trumbull has included portraits of men who were not present on one or both of these occasions and excluded others who were.

But Trumbull had no such conception in mind; he neither called his work "The Report of the Declaration" nor "The Congress Adopting the Declaration" nor "The Signing of the Declaration." It is "Declaration of Independence" and was meant "to preserve the resemblance of the men who were the authors of this memorable act." As a matter of fact it was on July 2d that the Congress declared the Colonies to be independent, and on July 4th the form only of that Declaration was determined.†

Trumbull himself pointed out the difficulties which confronted him and what he did was to use the original act as the "general guide" but preserved for posterity whatever likenesses he could obtain of those engaged in this momentous event. In this connection it may not be amiss to state the facts in regard to the collection of engraved portraits, ordinarily seen, of the Signers.

But a wholesale deception of a serious character was perpetrated something over a generation ago, for the gratification of a very honorable gentleman residing in New

* *The Declaration of Independence: Its History*, J. R. Hazelton, pp. 166, *et seq.*

† See "The Historical value of Trumbull's 'Declaration of Independence,'" John H. Hazleton. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 38, 39. See also note D.

York, who had no intention of imposing upon anyone, but who wanted effigies of all the signers of the Declaration of Independence, although of a number there were, in 1870, when they were made, no authentic portraits known. Notwithstanding, this apparently insurmountable difficulty was overcome and in due time there appeared etched portraits, by H. B. Hall, of Francis Lightfoot Lee, William Whipple, George Taylor, James Smith, Lyman Hall, John Hart, Caesar Rodney, Button Gwinnett, John Penn, Benjamin Harrison, and Carter Braxton, which to-day are looked upon by the uninitiated as genuine portraits. What is most deplorable in this connection is the unfortunate circumstance that fake portraits of at least four of the signers of the Declaration of Independence have gained admission within the sacred portals of the room where the immortal document was adopted. On the walls hang effigies, recently admitted, inscribed with the names of John Hart and of George Taylor, neither of which have the slightest warrant of authenticity as portraits of those worthies, while others of William Whipple and Benjamin Harrison have been there a longer time but without any better warrant.*

Of the portraits in the canvas at Yale, we have Trumbull's own record. In a letter to Jefferson reporting his progress in enlarging it for the Capitol, Trumbull says:

you recollect the composition which you kindly assisted me to sketch at Chaillot. . . . The picture will contain Portraits of at least Forty seven members:—for the faithful resemblance of at least Thirty six, I am responsible, as they were done by myself from the Life, being all who survived in the year 1791. Of the remainder, nine are from pictures done by others. One Gen'l Whipple of New Hampshire is from memory; and one Mr. Benj. Harrison of Virginia is from description aided by memory.†

Let us be duly thankful that Trumbull's New England conscience would not permit him to fake his portraits and that we have the representation from life of thirty-six of these famous men.

* "Frauds in Historical Portraiture, or Spurious Portraits of Historical Personages," Charles Henry Hart. *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1913. Vol. I, p. 93.

Hart does not state the facts regarding the faking of the Whipple portrait, but they are clear. The catalogue of works of art in Independence Hall states that the portrait of William Whipple is after St. Mémin. Whipple died in 1785 and St. Mémin was not born until 1770 and did not come to America until 1793. Research among the engraved portraits by St. Memín discloses the fact that the William Whipple of Independence Hall is in fact a portrait of Joseph Wipple (not even Whipple), a totally different person drawn and engraved by St. Memín in 1805.

† From Trumbull's copy of the letter dated December 28, 1817, in the Yale University Library. Trumbull wrote General Harrison (February 10, 1815), that "Mr Peale . . . possesses no portrait of your Father in his Museum. My sole reliance must be on such description as you and his friend Colo. Meade of Kentucky can furnish me." (Trumbull's copy of the letter in Yale University Library.)

The late Charles Henry Hart has written of this painting as follows:

No picture of an American historical event is better known than John Trumbull's Declaration of Independence. The crude colossal painting covers considerable wall space, twelve by eighteen feet, in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, while the beautifully painted small original canvas, only twenty by thirty inches, adorns the Trumbull Gallery, in New Haven, and may readily be accepted as the artist's masterpiece, with its exquisite miniature portraits, several of them, says Mr. John Durand, in his monograph on Trumbull, "comparable to the finest limning of Meissonier."

. . .

The great value of this picture is as a human document, preserving as it does the portraits of forty-eight persons connected with the most momentous event in the world's history next to Magna Charta.*

Had there been an artist present at Runnimead field to preserve the likeness of those nobles who wrung freedom from an unwilling king, his canvas would have been considered of less importance only to the document itself.

Trumbull's painting of these bold men, who initiated the movement which procured freedom for us, should be ranked next to the engrossed resolution in the State Department which is the object of such sentimental reverence.†

"No. 11.—CAPTURE OF THE HESSIANS AT TRENTON.—December 26, 1776."

Composed and commenced‡ by Trumbull in the studio of Benjamin West, London, 1786-1787, on canvas twenty by thirty inches.

The campaign of 1776, was one continued series of disasters. The defeat on Long Island, the loss of New York, the indecisive battle at White Plains, . . . were followed by a rapid retreat through New Jersey; and the fragments of the army did not feel themselves safe until they had crossed the Delaware and secured on the West side of the river all the boats which were to be found. . . .

The enemy . . . finding it impossible to cross the Delaware . . . left a strong corps of Hessian troops commanded by Col. Rahl, at Trenton, and another, also

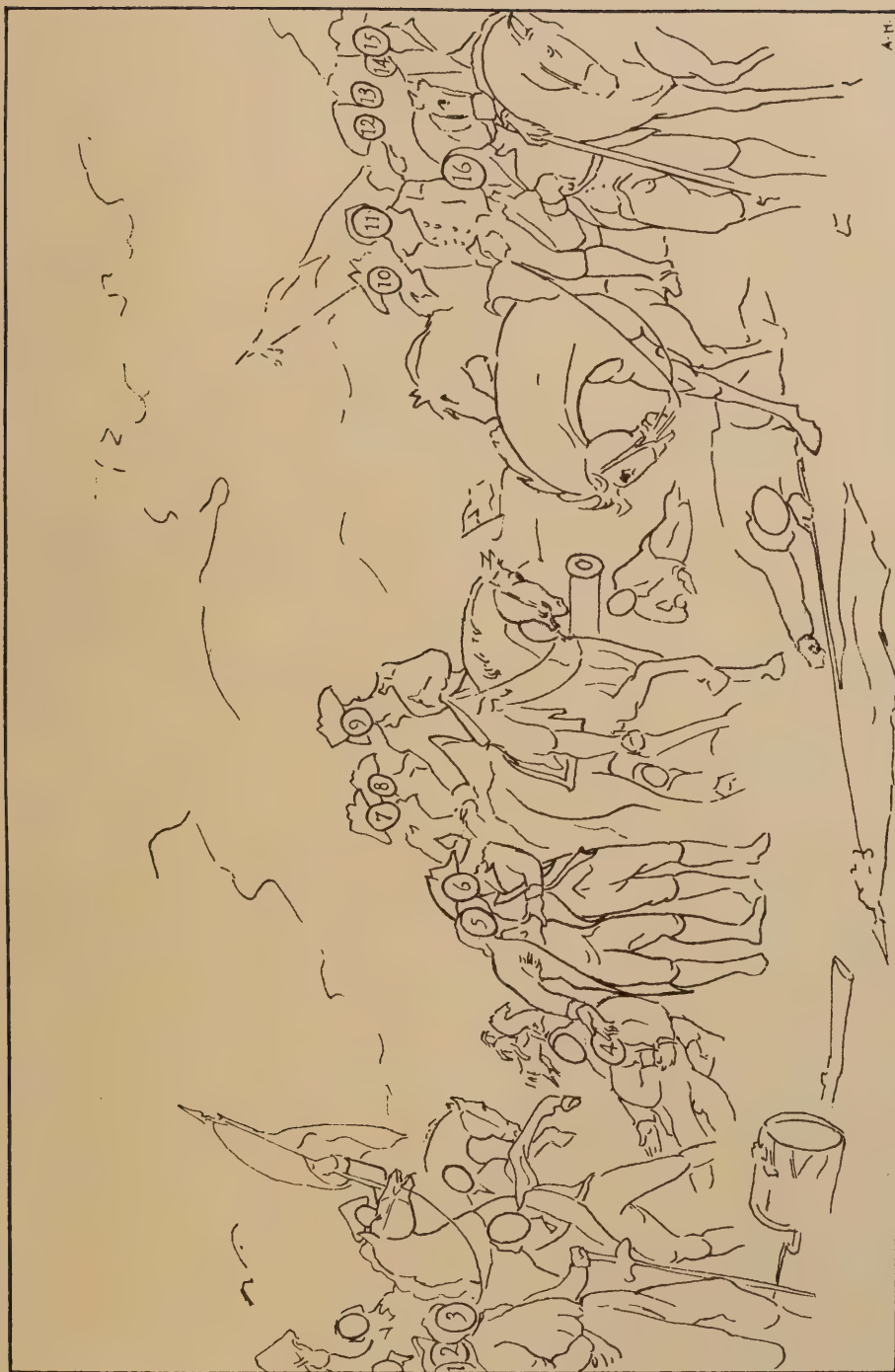
* "The Congress Voting Independence," by Charles Henry Hart. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Vol. XXIX, pp. 1, 2.

† Trumbull's amusing controversy with John Randolph of Roanoke over the artistic value of "The Declaration of Independence" in the Capitol at Washington is added as Note A, at the end of Part II.

‡ From Trumbull's *Account of Paintings*, Yale University Library.



CAPTURE OF THE HESSIANS AT TRENTON. DECEMBER 26, 1776.



KEY TO CAPTURE OF THE HESSIANS AT TRENTON.

Hessians, commanded by Col. Count Donop, at Bordentown, and withdrew their main force to Brunswick, where they established their magazines, etc.

Washington . . . determined upon attempting to surprise them . . . The division under the immediate command of Washington, crossed the river with great difficulty, marched down on the east shore, and were not discovered until they presented themselves at the northern extremity of the town, a little before sunrise. The Germans, particularly the regiment of Rahl, flew to arms, and for a few minutes made a very spirited but ineffectual resistance. The attack was completely successful; and the principal part of the three German regiments, of Rahl, Lossberg, and Knyphausen, to the number of nine hundred and eighteen, were made prisoners; in killed and wounded they lost thirty or forty men; the remainder escaped across the creek down the river, and joined their comrades at Bordentown—the meditated attack on that post having been prevented by the impossibility of crossing the river. (From Trumbull's Catalogue of 1841.)

The artist has chosen the moment when, after the battle, General Washington, walking his horse over the field, came upon the wounded Colonel Rahl and directed that he should be cared for and his life saved if possible.

The following list is taken from the *Key* sold with the engraving of this painting.

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| No. | 1. Col ^o Wigglesworth | } Massachusetts. |
| | 2. Col ^o Shepherd | |
| | 3. Col ^o Parker | Virginia. |
| | 4. James Monroe | do |
| | 5. Col ^o Rahl of the Hessians. | |
| | 6. Col ^o Wm. Smith, A.D.C. | to the Commander in Chief. |
| | 7. Col Harrison | } of Maryland, A.D.Camps. |
| | 8. Col Tilghman | |
| | 9. General Washington. | |
| | 10. Gen ^l Sullivan, | New Hampshire. |
| | 11. Gen ^l Green, | Rhode Island. |
| | 12. Gen ^l Knox, | Massachusetts. |
| | 13. B. Gen ^l Philemon Dickerson, | New Jersey. |
| | 14. B. Gen ^l Glover, | Massachusetts. |
| | 15. B. Gen ^l Weldon, | Virginia. |
| | 16. Lieu ^t William Washington, | afterwards the celebrated Cavalry officer. |

We know that this canvas was begun in the studio of Benjamin West and had been partially finished as early as 1790, as in the proposals published by Trumbull in New York, April 2, 1790, for his engravings of these scenes,

he announced that the picture (therein called "The Battle at Trenton") was considerably advanced.

At the Silliman sale a finished sketch in India ink of this scene was sold (No. 25), endorsed on the back "Lebanon December 1789." Another (No. 26) was a rough sketch showing the grouping for the picture.

We know when several of the portraits were actually done, as Trumbull, in his *Reminiscences*, states that he painted the portrait of General Washington into this canvas in New York. Probably it was on March 2, 1790, as Washington wrote in his diary on that day "Sat for Mr. Trumbull to paint my likeness into his Historical Scenes."

At the Silliman sale there were also sold the pencil sketch of General Nathanael Greene (No. 36), done in Philadelphia in 1792, and a pencil sketch of General John Glover, done in Marblehead, November 13th, 1794; and Yale owns miniatures of Colonel William Loughton Smith done in 1792 and General George Weedon painted in Fredericksburg, September, 1790.

"No. 23.—DEATH OF GENERAL MERCER AT THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON.—*January 3, 1777.*"

Painted by Trumbull from his sketch, No. 7, composed and commenced* in the studio of Benjamin West, London, 1787, on canvas twenty by thirty inches.

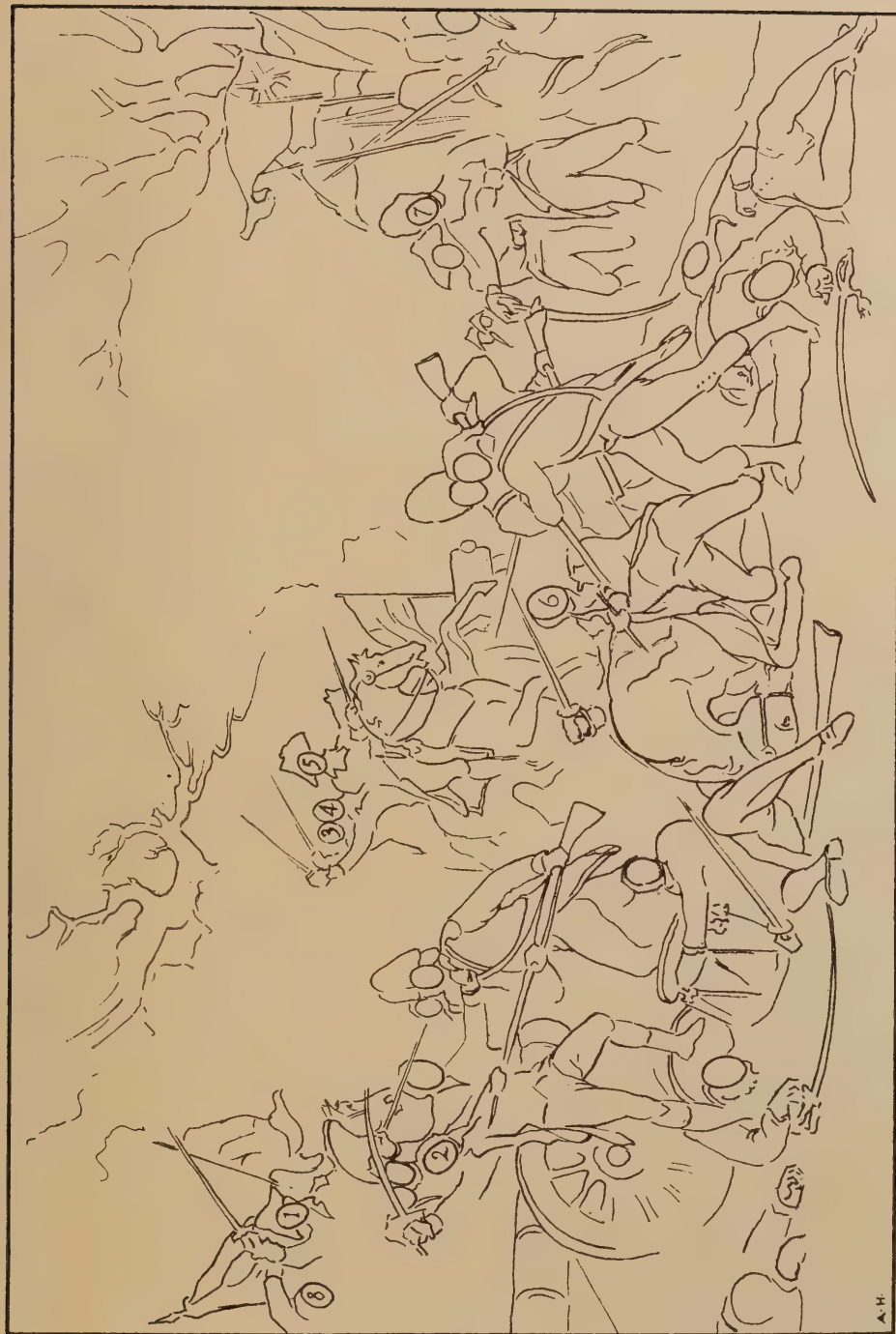
Alarmed by the success of the attack upon Trenton, the enemy immediately withdrew all their posts from the banks of the Delaware, and concentrated their forces in Princeton and Brunswick. On the other hand, Gen. Washington, having received considerable reinforcements, recrossed the river, and again took possession of Trenton, with a view to further offensive operations. On the 2d of January, 1777, Lord Cornwallis, having resumed the command of the British troops, marched with his whole force to attack him. Washington, at his approach, abandoned the town of Trenton, and took his position on the south side of the creek. Some skirmishing followed, and a severe cannonade, with an unsuccessful attempt to force the passage of the bridge, closed the events of the day. . . .

Gen. Washington, . . . leaving small parties commanded by confidential officers to go the rounds and guard the bridge and fords, withdrew his troops in the dead of night, with the most profound silence; and commenced his march to the east, keeping the creek between him and his enemy.

* From Trumbull's *Account of Paintings*, Yale University Library.



DEATH OF GENERAL MERCER, AT THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON.
JANUARY 3, 1777.



KEY TO DEATH OF GENERAL MERCER, AT THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON.

On the morning of the 3d of January, a little before sunrise, and at a short distance from Princeton, the leading division, under the command of Gen. Mercer, fell in with the 17th British regiment, commanded by Col. Mawhood, who had just commenced their march to join Lord Cornwallis at Trenton. . . . A deadly conflict was unavoidable, and was maintained by the Americans with the courage of desperation, until the horse of Gen. Mercer was killed under him; and before he could disengage himself, and get upon his feet, he was attacked by two grenadiers, and mortally wounded. (From Trumbull's Catalogue of 1841.)

The following list is taken from the *Key* sold with the engraving of this painting.

- No. 1. Brig^d Gen^l Mifflin, Pennsylvania.
- 2. Lieu^t Turnbull, of the Artillery, Maryland.
- No. 3. Doctor Rush { Pennsylvania.
- 4. Col Cadwallader {
- 5. General Washington.
- No. 6. Brig^d General Mercer, Virginia.
- 7. Captain Leslie of the Grenadiers.
- 8. Col B. G. Eyre, A.D.C. to the Commander in Chief.

This canvas was painted from No. 7 in reduced size and was done in the studio of Benjamin West and finished as early as 1790 except the heads, as Trumbull stated in the announcement in April, 1790, for his proposed engravings of his historical paintings that "The Battle of Princeton was considerably advanced."

In the Silliman sale there were six sketches for this canvas, two endorsed on the back "No. 4. Death of General Mercer at Princeton, Jan. 1777. J. Trumbull, 11 May, 1786" (No. 14), and one endorsed on the back "Death of Gen. Mercer at Princeton, Jan. 2, 1777. J. Trumbull, 18 May, 1786" (No. 16). Trumbull was at this time in London. Two other sketches (No. 17 and No. 18) of various details were also sold; another (No. 19) was endorsed "The college and village of Princeton as seen from the field on which the battle was fought on 2ⁿ Jan. 1777. Drawn on the spot by J. Trumbull, Dec. 10, 1790." A sketch (No. 20) is endorsed "The college and village of Trenton [*sic*] as seen from the field on which was fought the battle on the 2ⁿ Jan., 1777. Drawn, Dec. 10, 1790 by J. Trumbull." The two latter, no doubt, were used in the composition of the background of this

painting, as in the oil sketch (No. 7), owned by Yale, the college and village are not included.

Trumbull tells us that he painted the portrait of Washington into this canvas in New York, probably on March 2d, 1790 (*Reminiscences*, p. 164).

The portrait of General Hugh Mercer killed in the battle was done from his son, as at the Silliman sale was dispersed a pencil portrait of General Mercer endorsed "From his son, Fredericksburgh 1791" (No. 40).

Yale owns a miniature of General Thomas Mifflin done in Philadelphia in 1790.

"No. 25.—SURRENDER OF GENERAL BURGOYNE.—*October 16, 1777.*"

On canvas twenty by thirty inches.

The painting represents General Burgoyne, attended by General Phillips, and followed by other officers, arriving near the marquee of General Gates.

General Gates has advanced a few steps from the entrance, to meet his prisoner, who, with General Phillips, has dismounted, and is in the act of offering his sword, which General Gates declines to receive, and invites them to enter, and partake of refreshments. A number of the principal officers of the American army are assembled near their general.

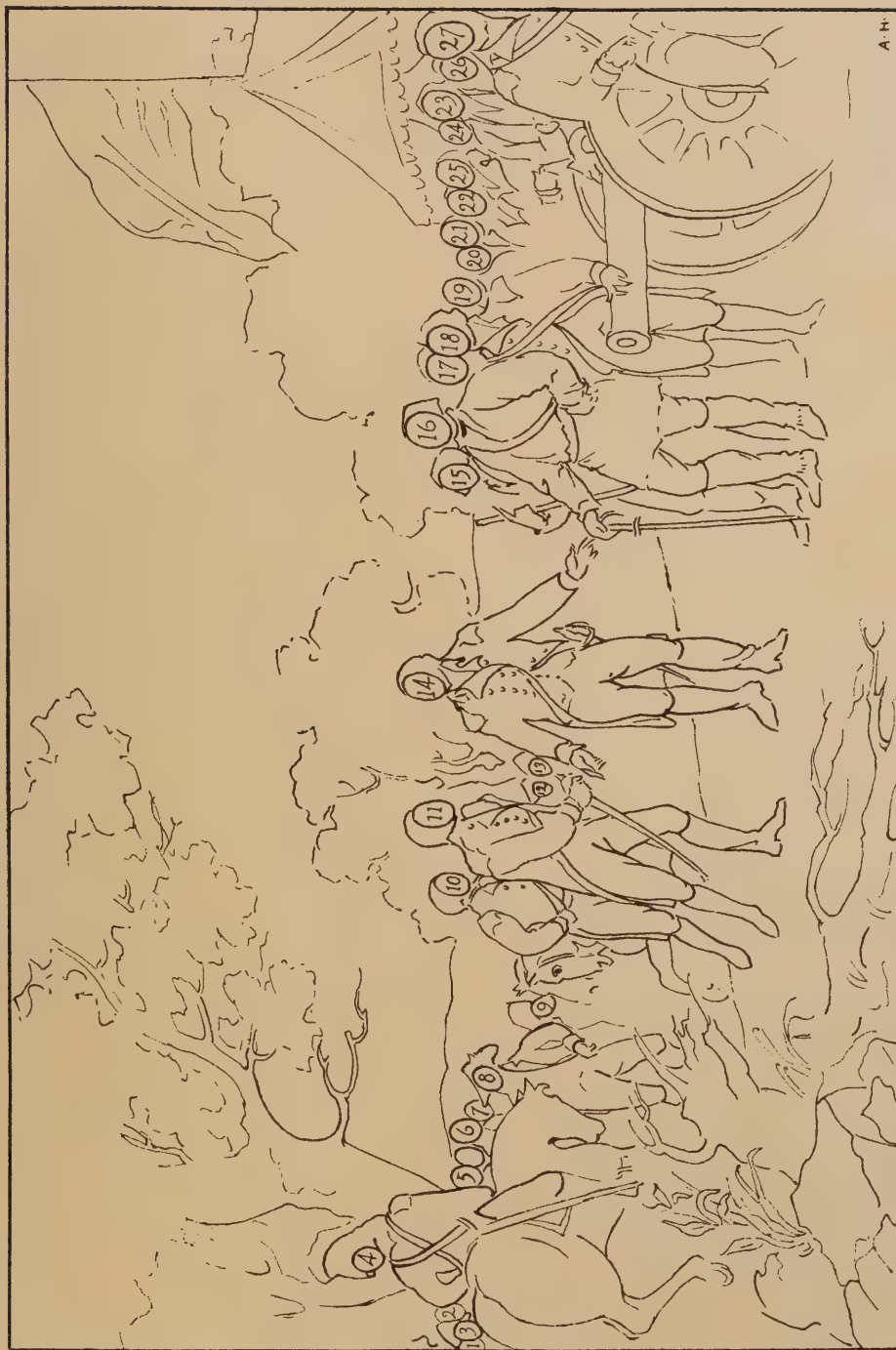
The confluence of Fish Creek and the North River, where the British left their arms, is shown in the distance, near the head of Col. Scammell; the troops are indistinctly seen crossing the creek and the meadows, under the direction of Colonel (since Governor) Lewis, then quarter-master general, and advancing towards the foreground; they disappear behind the wood, which serves to relieve the three principal figures; and again appear (grenadiers, without arms or accoutrements,) under the left arm of General Gates. Officers on horseback, American, British, and German, precede the head of the column, and form an interesting cavalcade, following the two dismounted generals, and connecting different parts of the picture. (From Trumbull's Catalogue of 1841.)

The following list is taken from the *Key* probably published in 1820 when the enlargement was being exhibited.

1. Major Lithgow, Massachusetts.
2. Colonel Cilley, New Hampshire.
3. General Stark, do.
4. Captain Seymour, of Connecticut.
5. Major Hull, of Massachusetts.



SURRENDER OF GENERAL BURGOYNE. OCTOBER 16, 1777.



KEY TO SURRENDER OF GENERAL BURGOYNE.

6. Colonel Greateon, do.
7. Major Dearborn, of New Hampshire.
8. Colonel Scammell, of New Hampshire.
9. Colonel Lewis, New York, Quarter-Master General.
10. Major General Phillips,—British.
11. Lieutenant General Burgoyne, British.
12. General Baron Reidesel,—German.
13. Colonel Wilkinson, Deputy Adjutant General.
14. General Gates.
15. Colonel Prescott, Massachusetts.
16. Colonel Morgan, Virginia Riflemen.
17. Brigadier General Rufus Putnam.
18. Lieutenant Colonel John Brooks, now Governor of Massachusetts.
19. Rev Mr. Hitchcock, Chaplain.
20. Major R. Troup, Aide-de Camp.
21. Major Haskell, of Massachusetts.
22. Major Armstrong, Aide de Camp.
23. Major General P. Schuyler, of New York.
24. Brigadier General Glover, of Massachusetts.
25. Brigadier General Whipple, of New Hampshire.
26. Major M. Clarkson, Aide-de-Camp, New York.
27. Major Ebenezer Stevens, Massachusetts, commanding the Artillery.

Trumbull planned this picture as early as 1786, as it is in the list agreed upon in conference with Jefferson and Adams, but in his proposals to publish engravings (New York, April 2, 1790) it is stated that it had not as yet been executed.

At the Silliman sale was dispersed a finished sketch in outline and partly filled in with India ink, endorsed on the back by Trumbull "Surrender of General Burgoyne, Lebanon, August 1791" (No. 21). Another (No. 22) was a pencil sketch endorsed with the proportions of the figures. A third (No. 23) was an outline sketch in pencil of General Gates's marquée, as it appears in the finished picture. A fourth (No. 24) was a finished sketch in sepia endorsed "Saratoga, scene from the rising ground nigh the church, on which was General Gates's marquee, Sep. 28, 1791, J. Trumbull." A fifth (No. 35) was a sketch in pencil endorsed "Maj. Gen. Gates New York Dec. 1790"; also a pencil portrait endorsed "B. Gen. Glover, Marblehead Nov. 13 1794" (No. 38).

Yale possesses the following miniature portraits endorsed on the back

by Trumbull with the name and date when painted and the words "Capture of General Burgoyne," evidently used in this painting:

Col. John Brooks. Painted at Boston, 1790;

Lieut. Col. Richard Butler. Painted at Philadelphia, 1790;

Major Jonathan Haskell. Painted at Charleston, So. Carolina, 1791;

Major Isaac Hull. Painted at Boston, 1790;

Brigadier-General Morgan, "of the American Riflemen, distinguished at the Cow Pens, and present at the capture of General Burgoyne." Painted at Philadelphia, 1792 from an original by C. W. Peale;

Col. Rufus Putnam. Painted at New York, 1790;

Major-General Philip Schuyler. Painted at Philadelphia, 1792;

Capt. Thomas Youngs Seymour. Painted at Hartford, 1793;

Col. William Stevens, "Commander of the American Artillery at the capture of General Burgoyne." Painted at New York, 1790.

From the general composition and evidence borne by the canvas itself, it is probable that Trumbull painted this picture between 1816 and 1824 after he had been commissioned by Congress to decorate the Rotunda of the Capitol with this scene. He used his early sketches and miniatures as the base, but the finished canvas entirely lacks the spirit of his early compositions planned and executed while in West's studio, and it is only necessary to compare the heads of General Morgan and Captain Seymour, as they appear in the finished painting, with the original miniatures owned by Yale from which they were adapted, to realize the deterioration in Trumbull's art. (See reproduction of the miniatures pp. 70, 72 and 75.)

"No. 29.—SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS.—*Oct.* 19, 1781."

Composed and commenced* by Trumbull in the studio of Benjamin West, London, 1786-1787. On canvas twenty by thirty inches.

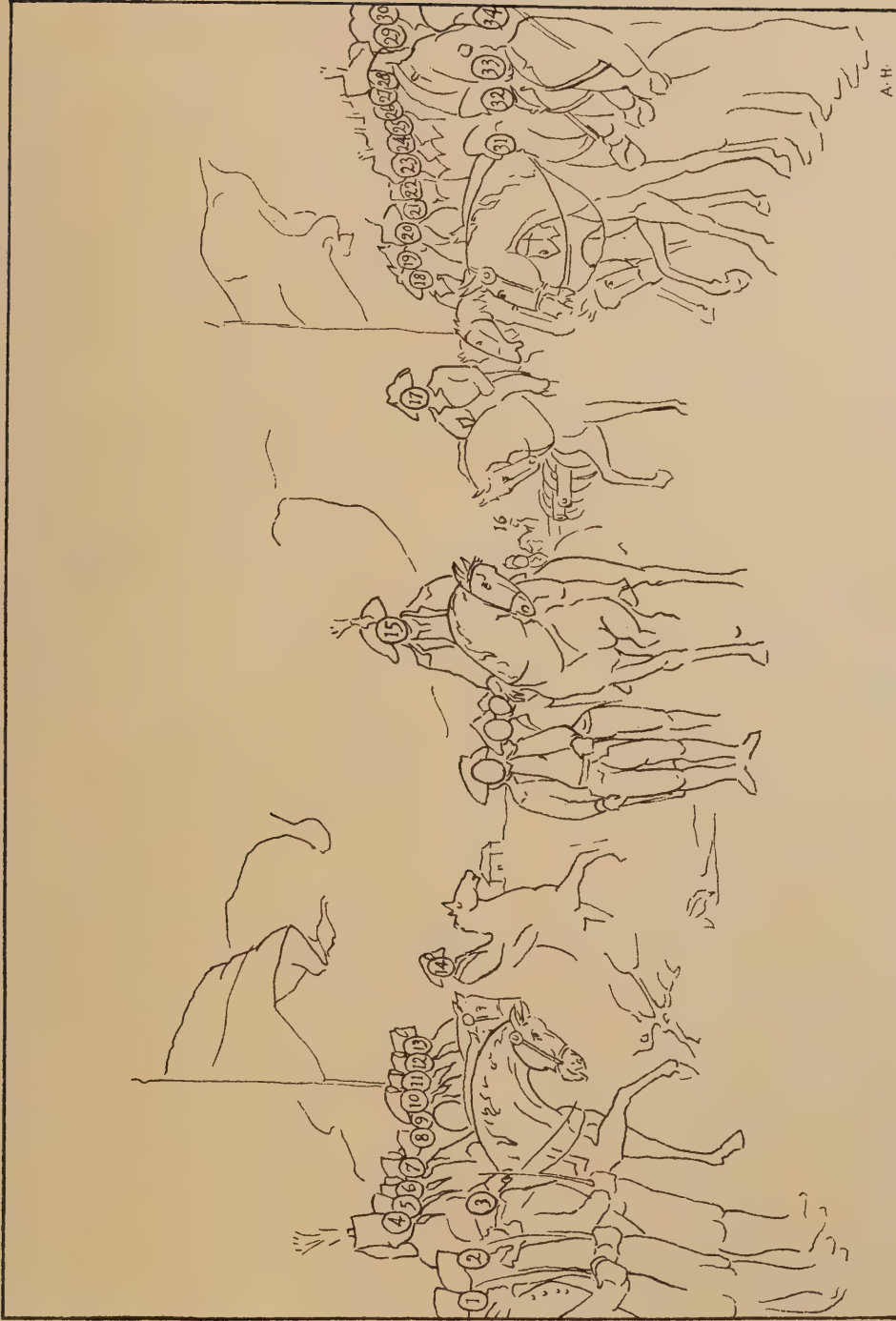
The success of this officer in the southern states, during the years 1780 and 1781, the capture of Charleston, the victory of Camden, and various minor successes, by which almost every part of Georgia and South and North Carolina, had been successively occupied by the British troops, had seriously threatened the ruin of American independence.

In 1781, Lord Cornwallis . . . marched with the principal part of his force into Virginia, where, for some time, his success was almost equally rapid and complete;

* From Trumbull's *Account of Paintings*, Yale University Library.



SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS. OCTOBER 19, 1781.



KEY TO SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS.

but the admirable combined movement of General Washington and our French allies, from the north, and of the Count de Grasse, with the fleet and army of France, from the West Indies, turned the scale, and rendered it necessary for him to shut himself up in Yorktown, and attempt to defend himself there, until he could receive relief from New York. This hope, however, failed him, and on the 19th of October, he surrendered his forces to the combined armies of America and France. . . .

The American troops were drawn up on the right of the road leading into York; General Washington and the American general officers on the right. The French troops on the opposite side of the Road facing them; General Rochambeau and the principal officers of the French army and navy on the left. . . .

The painting represents the moment when the principal officers of the British army, conducted by General Lincoln, are passing the two groups of American and French generals, and entering between the two lines of the victors; by this means the principal officers of the three nations are brought near together, so as to admit of distinct portraits.

In the centre of the painting, in the distance, is seen the entrance of the town, with the captured troops marching out, following their officers; and also a distant glimpse of York River, and the entrance of the Chesapeake Bay, as seen from the spot. (Trumbull's Catalogue of 1841.)

The following list is taken from the *Key* published by R. & C. Metzger, 1859, of the paintings in the Rotunda of the Capitol, Washington.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Count Deuxponts, Colonel of French Infantry. | 14. Count Rochambeau, General in chief of the French. |
| 2. Duke de Laval Montmorency, Colonel of French Infantry. | 15. General Lincoln. |
| 3. Count Custine, Colonel of French Infantry. | 16. Colonel Ebenezer Stevens, of the American Artillery. |
| 4. Duke de Lauzun, Colonel of French Cavalry. | 17. General Washington, Commander in Chief. |
| 5. General Choizy. | 18. Thomas Nelson, Governor of Virginia. |
| 6. Viscount Viomenil. | 19. Marquis de Lafayette. |
| 7. Marquis de St. Simon. | 20. Baron Steuben. |
| 8. Count Fersen, Aide-de-Camp of Count Rochambeau. | 21. Colonel Cobb, Aide-de-Camp to General Washington. |
| 9. Count Charles Damas. Do. | 22. Colonel Trumbull, Secretary to General Washington. |
| 10. Marquis Chastellux. | 23. Major General James Clinton, New York. |
| 11. Baron Viomenil. | 24. General Gist, Maryland. |
| 12. Count de Barras, Admiral. | |
| 13. Count de Grasse, Admiral. | |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 25. General Anthony Wayne, Pennsylvania. | 30. Colonel Timothy Pickering, Quartermaster General. |
| 26. General Hand, Adjutant General, Pennsylvania. | 31. Colonel Alexander Hamilton, Commanding Light Infantry. |
| 27. General Peter Muhlenberg, Pennsylvania. | 32. Colonel John Laurens, of South Carolina. |
| 28. Major General Henry Knox, Commander of Artillery. | 33. Colonel Walter Stuart, of Philadelphia. |
| 29. Lieutenant Colonel E. Huntington, Acting Aide-de-Camp of General Lincoln. | 34. Colonel Nicholas Fish, of New York. |

The dispersal of the Trumbull historical sketches at the Silliman sale is a great loss to students, as by their aid it might be possible to check the details and progress of each painting. Fortunately, one has been found, so that a fairly clear idea of Trumbull's method can be outlined.

Trumbull tells us* that upon his return from Paris to London in 1786 he began the composition of other historical paintings, among which were: "The Battle of Trenton," "The Battle of Princeton" and "I also made various studies for the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and in this found great difficulty; the scene was altogether one of utter formality—the ground was level—military etiquette was to be scrupulously observed, and yet the portraits of the principal officers of three proud nations must be preserved, without intercepting the general regularity of the scene. I drew it over and over again, and at last, having resolved upon the present arrangement I prepared the small picture to receive the portraits."

We know that Trumbull painted the portraits of the French officers into this canvas while a guest in Jefferson's house in the Grille de Chaillot, Paris, in September of 1787,† that he painted in the portrait of Washington while in New York in February or March, 1790, and those of most of the other American officers before 1794. We know also that Trumbull visited Yorktown to sketch the very scene of the surrender, as at the Silliman sale was sold (No. 30) a sketch endorsed as follows: "Yorktown, in Virginia, April

* *Reminiscences, op. cit.*, p. 148.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 150-151. On October 20, 1823, Trumbull wrote Lafayette:

The surrender of Cornwallis, in which are portraits of yourself and the principal French officers who were present on that great occasion [are] copied from the small picture which you saw me engaged upon in Paris in 1787.—From Trumbull's copy of the letter in the Yale University Library.



SKETCH OF SCENE OF THE SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS,

DRAWN BY TRUMBULL AT YORKTOWN, APRIL 23, 1791.

(Courtesy of *House and Garden*.)

23, 1791, as seen from the point the British army entered between the lines of the Allied Troops of America and France at the surrender in '81; distance from the advanced works, 270 yards." This was described in the Silliman Catalogue as a panorama in sepia on three cards, and may be the sketch illustrated.*

This or a similar sketch was evidently used in the background in the finished picture at Yale, as the large building with its surrounding earthworks below and to the right of DeGrasse's horse and "the distant glimpse of the York River and the entrance of Chesapeake Bay" in the finished composition, appear in the sketch.

This painting offers another interesting line of speculation. Among other of Dunlap's criticisms, he says that "in its original beautiful miniature form [*i.e.*, the canvas at Yale], the painter again violated truth by introducing Lord Cornwallis in the scene of the surrender; and finding that so gross a violation of known fact was objected to, he gave the figure another name, and in his catalogue says, generally, 'the principal officers of the British army.' "† To understand what Trumbull probably did, the facts of the surrender must be examined. Washington Irving, quoting an eyewitness of the scene, says: the British "were led by General O'Hara on

* From "The 125th Anniversary of the Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown," by Allen De-Saix, *American Homes and Gardens*, September, 1906, p. 175.

† Dunlap, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 377.

horseback, who riding up to General Washington, took off his hat and apologized for the non-appearance of Lord Cornwallis, on account of indisposition. Washington received him with dignified courtesy, but pointed to Major-General Lincoln as the officer who was to receive the submission of the garrison. By him they were conducted into a field where they were to ground their arms.”* In the published key, the central figure on horseback (No. 15) is called General Lincoln, but a comparison of the known portraits of Lincoln and Cornwallis leaves little doubt but that the figure originally represented Cornwallis. Possibly the French officers whom Trumbull painted in Paris, in explaining the details of the surrender to him and desiring to magnify the importance of the French-American victory, persuaded him to introduce a portrait of the British commander in place of O’Hara. It is also possible that portraits of Cornwallis were available to Trumbull in London in 1786, and those of O’Hara were not, and this fact also had its weight. Cornwallis was painted by many of the leading artists of his day and upwards of twenty prints† of such portraits would have been available to Trumbull before he left England in 1789.

Dunlap, quoting from a manuscript of Trumbull in the possession of James Herring, secretary of the American Academy of Fine Arts, states that “The head of General Lincoln, at the Surrender of York Town was painted in Boston. . . .”‡

Examination of the engraved portraits of General Lincoln and Lord Cornwallis show that Lincoln was a large, heavy man and not unlike Cornwallis in general appearance, but figure No. 15 resembles the engraving by Francis Hayward, R.A., of the portrait of Cornwallis by Daniel Gardner, published February 24, 1784.

It is difficult to decide at this late date just what was done or when the head of General Lincoln was put into the canvas; if it is Lincoln, but one deduction would seem clear that, when the portrait of Cornwallis in the scene of the surrender was criticised by the public, the change was made.

It is also worth noting that of the 250 portraits in the group of historical paintings at Yale, the likeness of General Lincoln alone has been questioned.

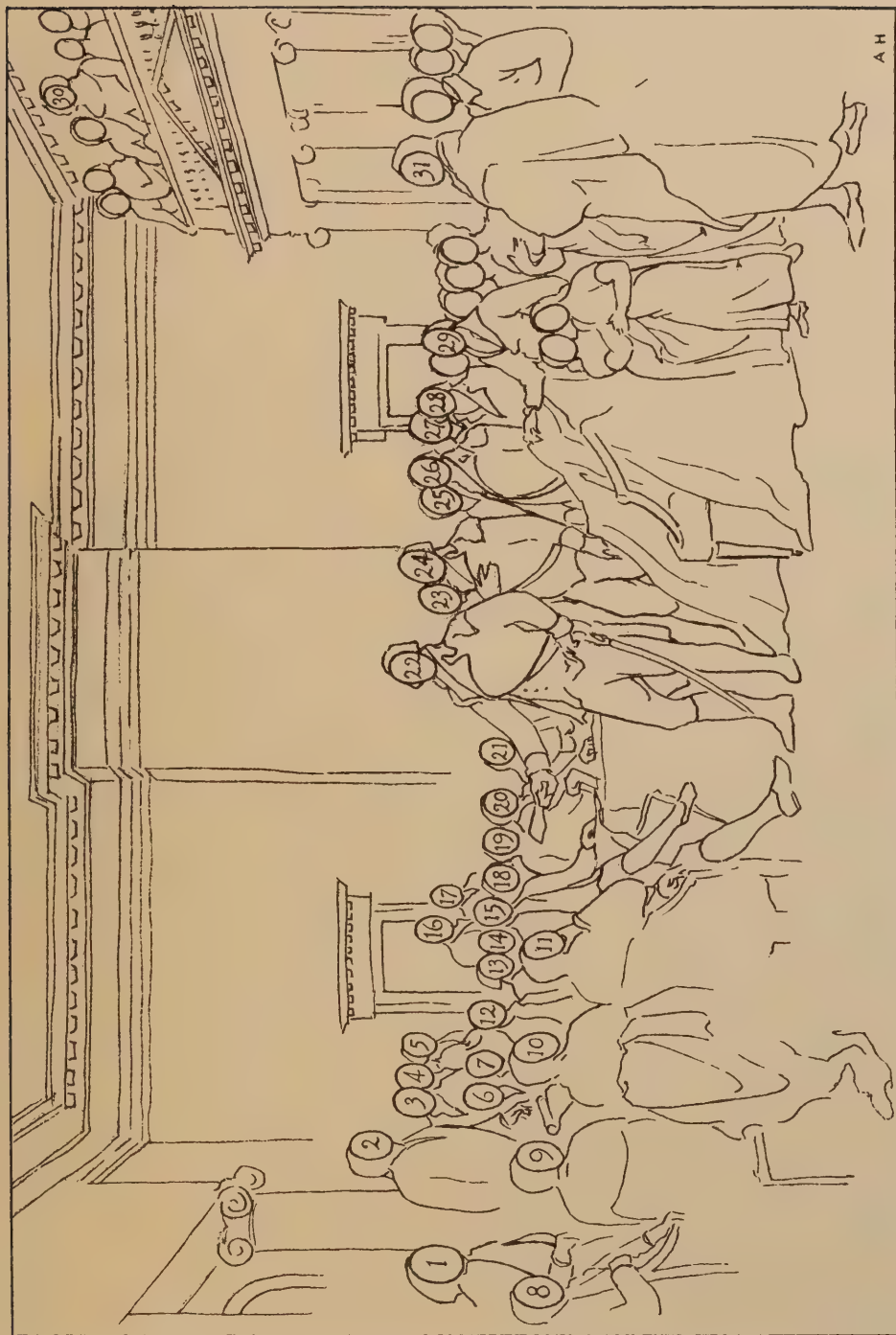
* *Life of Washington*, by Washington Irving, Vol. IV, p. 384.

† Courtesy of E. P. Clark, Esq., of Brooklyn, New York, whose collection of Cornwallis prints were placed at the writer’s disposal.

‡ Dunlap, *op. cit.*, p. 363.



RESIGNATION OF GENERAL WASHINGTON. DECEMBER 23, 1783.



KEY TO RESIGNATION OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

64 THE PAINTINGS OF JOHN TRUMBULL

Yale owns the following miniatures of persons in this canvas: Colonel Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., painted in Philadelphia, 1792, Colonel John Laurens, painted in 1790.

"No. 31.—RESIGNATION OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.—December 23, 1783. *Washington*, 1827."

On canvas twenty by thirty inches.

What Trumbull meant in the above description of this canvas in his catalogue of 1841 by the words "*Washington 1827*" is not clear. The scene was among those selected by Trumbull with the advice of Adams and Jefferson in 1786, but no note of when the small canvas at Yale was composed and commenced has been found. It was not mentioned in the list of his proposed engravings in 1792, and taking into account the facts of Trumbull's career, it is probable that it was painted after 1816 and certainly before 1824, as on December 24th of that year he received payment from the Government for the enlargement thereof now in the Capitol.* The scene shown in this canvas took place in the State House, Annapolis, Maryland.

. . . After taking an affectionate leave of his old comrades at New York, accompanied by only two of them, Col. Benjamin Walker, and Col. Humphreys, aids-du-camp, he [Washington] proceeded to Annapolis, where Congress, the very shadow of a government, were then sitting, and there resigned his commission into the hands of twenty-three powerless men, divested himself of all authority, and returned to private life. (Trumbull's Catalogue of 1841.)

The following list is taken from the Metzeroth *Key*.

1. Thomas Mifflin, of Pennsylvania—President, Member of Congress.
2. Charles Thomson, of Pennsylvania, Member of Congress.
3. Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, Member of Congress.
4. Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina, Member of Congress.
5. Samuel Osgood, of Massachusetts, Member of Congress.
6. Edward McComb, of Delaware, Member of Congress.
7. George Partridge, of Massachusetts, Member of Congress.
8. Edward Lloyd, of Maryland, Member of Congress.
9. R. D. Spaight, of North Carolina, Member of Congress.
10. Benjamin Hawkins, of North Carolina, Member of Congress.
11. A. Foster, of New Hampshire, Member of Congress.

* *Reminiscences*, p. 275.

12. Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Member of Congress.
13. Arthur Lee, of Virginia, Member of Congress.
14. David Howell, of Rhode Island, Member of Congress.
15. James Monroe, of Virginia, Member of Congress.
16. Jacob Read, of South Carolina, Member of Congress.
17. James Madison, of Virginia—Spectator.
18. William Ellery, of Rhode Island, Member of Congress.
19. Jeremiah Townley Chase, of Maryland, Member of Congress.
20. S. Hardy, of Virginia, Member of Congress.
21. Charles Morriss, of Pennsylvania, Member of Congress.
22. General Washington.
23. Colonel Benjamin Walker
24. Colonel David Humphreys } Aides-de-Camp.
25. General Smallwood, Maryland—Spectator.
26. General Otho Holland Williams, Maryland—Spectator.
27. Colonel Samuel Smith, Maryland—Spectator.
28. Colonel John E. Howard, Maryland—Baltimore—Spectator.
29. Charles Carroll and two daughters, Maryland—Spectator.
30. Mrs. Washington and her three grandchildren—Spectator.
31. Daniel, of St. Thomas Jennifer, Maryland—Spectator.

Trumbull made three preliminary sketches for this canvas, all included at the Silliman sale. One (No. 8), a rough pencil sketch, on the margin of which was a study of Washington as shown in the "Battle of Trenton"; a second (No. 9), a rough sketch of the room and a preliminary sketch from which the picture was afterward composed, and a third (No. 10), endorsed "Maryland State House, Annapolis. Room in which Washington resigned his commission, Dec. 23, 1783."

There were also sold at the Silliman sale pencil sketches of William Ellery, endorsed "Wm. Ellery, Newport 30 April 1791" (No. 47), and Colonel John E. Howard, endorsed "Col. Howard, Philadelphia 3rd May" (No. 44).

Yale owns the following miniatures of persons in this picture; endorsed as follows:

Jacob Reed, Esq., "Member of Congress from So. Carolina in 1783, and present at the resignation of Washington at the close of the War of the Revolution in America." Painted at Charleston, South Carolina, 1793.

Brigadier General Smallwood, "of the American Army present at the

resignation of Gen'l Washington." Painted at Philadelphia, 1792, from an original by Mr. C. W. Peale.

Arthur Lee, painted in 1790.

Martha Washington, painted in Philadelphia in 1792. (Trumbull probably adapted this miniature turning the face three-quarters left.)

Eleanor P. Custis, painted in Philadelphia in 1792.

Thomas Mifflin, President of Congress, painted in Philadelphia in 1792.

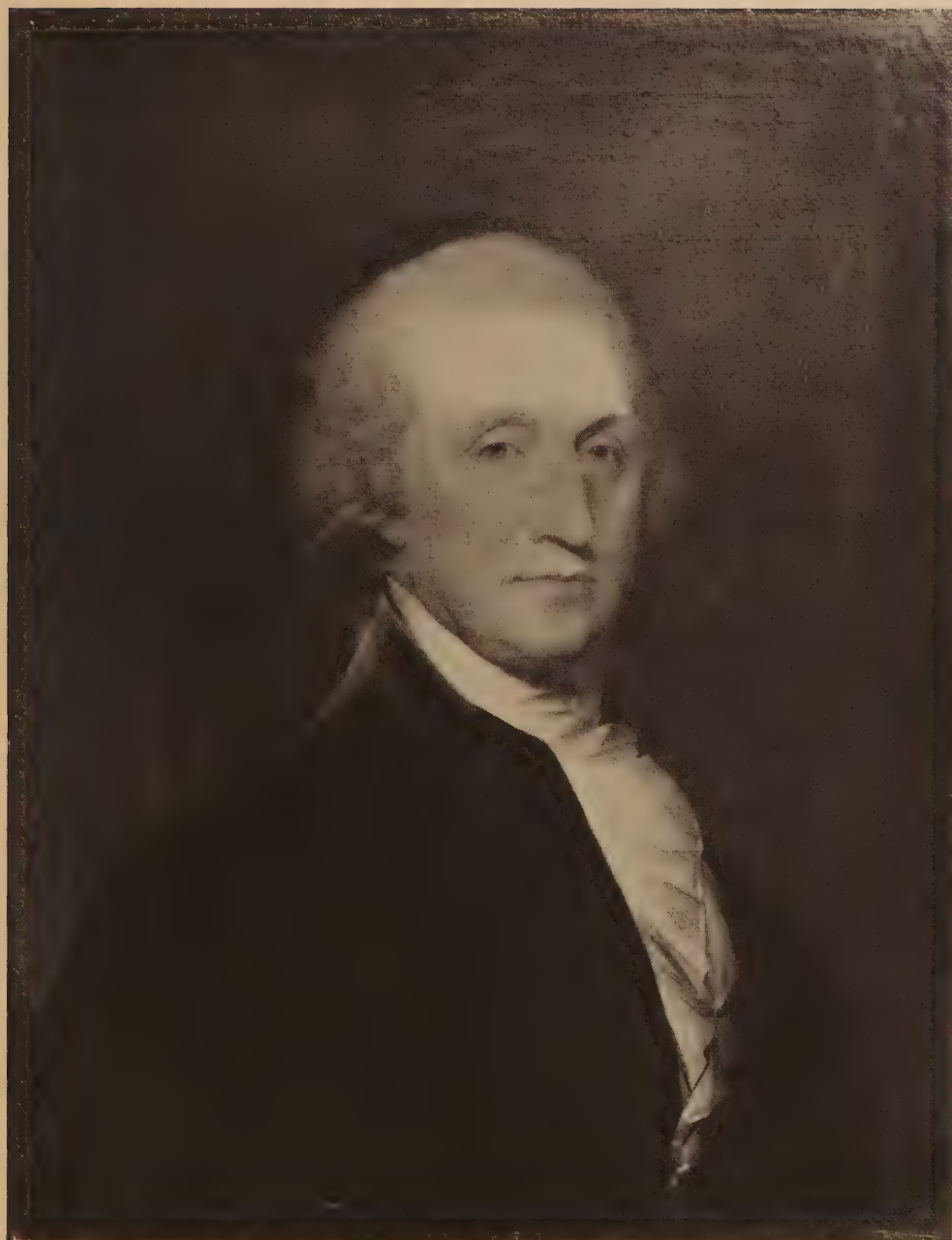
David Howell, painted in Newport in 1793.

The painting faithfully represents the architectural features of the room as they were on December 23, 1783, and are today, but imagination again is missing—at most it is a collection of portraits.

Among the papers preserved in the Yale Library is a printed form dated April 15, 1822, stating that the Journal of Congress shows that (a blank space is left for the name) was present on the occasion of Washington's resignation, and stating that he (Trumbull) had no likeness of him, and asking for the names of descendants who might possess a portrait or for assistance in finding one. From this it is evident that Trumbull did not paint all of the portraits in this canvas from life or from his sketches and miniatures but was in search of portraits by others from which to copy. This is understandable when it is remembered that the canvas was painted thirty years after the event. From a contemporary account the heads Nos. 8, 9 and 10 are described as "Ideal."

"No. 36.—PORTRAIT OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON,—head, the size of life. Painted in Philadelphia, May, 1793."

This portrait has never been considered a good likeness of the President by reason of the wide popularity of Stuart's so-called *Athenæum Head* painted in 1795, with which all others are compared. The latter, having been exhibited in a public institution for nearly one hundred years, and having been used upon the postage stamps and currency of the nation, has achieved such reputation that no other representation of the President will be considered. As a portrait from life by a talented and trained painter, this portrait deserves much greater consideration than it has received up to this time.



GEORGE WASHINGTON AS PRESIDENT.

PAINTED IN PHILADELPHIA MAY, 1793.

"No. 41.—PORTRAIT OF GENERAL WASHINGTON,—whole length, the size of life, painted in Philadelphia, in the year 1792, for the city of Charleston (S. C.)." (See Frontispiece.)

Trumbull describes this painting as follows:

This picture was intended to preserve the military character of the great original; but the citizens of Charleston being desirous of seeing him rather in his civil character, such as they had recently seen him in his visit to that city, another picture was, with the kind consent of the president, begun and finished, which now hangs in some public building in Charleston; this was also finished, and with his approval, remained in the hands of the artist, who had formerly been his aid-du-camp.

He is represented in full uniform, standing on an eminence, on the south side of the creek at Trenton, a small distance below the stone bridge and mill. He holds in his right hand his reconnoitering glass, with which he is supposed to have been examining the strength of the hostile army, pouring into and occupying Trenton, which he had just abandoned at their approach; and having ascertained their great superiority, as well in number as discipline, he is supposed to have been meditating how to avoid the apparently impending ruin. To re-cross the Delaware in the presence of such an enemy, was impossible; to retreat down the eastern side of the river and cross at Philadelphia, was equally so; to hazard a battle on the ground, was desperate; and he is supposed to have just formed the plan of that movement which he executed during the succeeding night. This led to the splendid success at Princeton, on the following morning; and in the estimation of the great Frederick of Prussia, placed his military character on a level with that of the greatest commanders of ancient or modern times.

Behind and near him an attendant holds his horse; further back, are seen artillery, assisting in the defense of the bridge and mill, against the attack made by the enemy, a little before sunset; the bridge and mill are seen under the legs of the horse, and higher up in the perspective distance, are seen several glimpses of the creek in its windings; and the fires which so fatally deluded the enemy during the night, are in many places already lighted and visible.

Every minute article of the dress, down to the buttons and spurs, and every strap and buckle of the horse-furniture, were carefully painted from the several objects.

The picture remained in the possession of Colonel Trumbull until the dissolution of the Society of the Cincinnati in Connecticut, when his Excellency Governor Trumbull, Gen. Jedediah Huntington, the Hon. John Davenport, the Hon. Jeremiah Wadsworth, and the Hon. Benjamin Talmadge, joined with him in presenting this portrait to Yale College. (From Trumbull's Catalogue of 1841.)

This is one of the great portraits of Washington painted by a man at the height of his powers and who had been associated with him and to whom

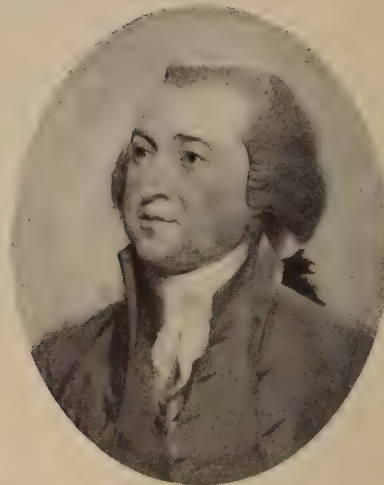
he had granted many sittings. The only other note we have concerning the portrait in New Haven is as follows :

In 1792 I was again in Philadelphia and there painted the portrait of General Washington, which is now placed in the Gallery at New Haven, the best certainly of those which I painted and the best, in my estimation, which exists, in his heroic military character. (*Reminiscences*, p. 166.)

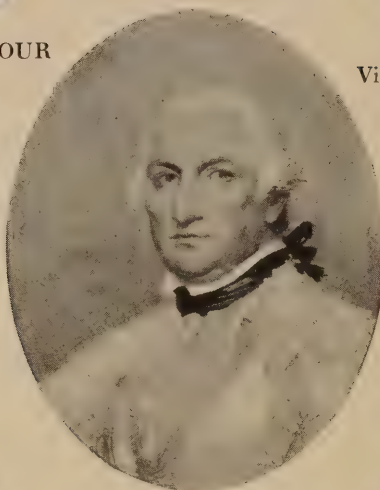
The one fair criticism to be made on this portrait is that Trumbull has represented Washington as he was in 1777 and not as he appeared in 1792 when painted.



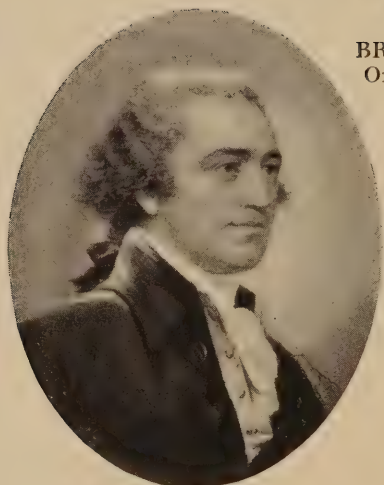
CAPT. THOS. SEYMOUR
1793



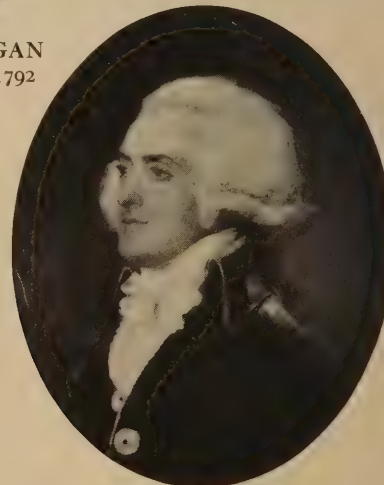
JOHN ADAMS
Vice President, U.S., 1792



BRIG. GEN. MORGAN
Of the Rifle Corps, 1792



FISHER AMES
Member of Congress, 1792



TEMPLE FRANKLIN
Grandson of Dr. F., 1790

THE TRUMBULL MINIATURES

TRUMBULL completed eight of the twelve Revolutionary subjects determined upon in consultation with Jefferson and John Adams in London in 1786. So far as is known he never even sketched four of these scenes, that is, (1) "The Treaty with France," (2) "The Battle of Eutaw Springs," (3) "The Treaty of Peace," and (4) "The Evacuation of New York."

When Trumbull returned from London in 1789 and painted the heads into the canvases already partially completed, at the same time he executed many miniature portraits of historical characters for use in the scenes yet to be composed. Yale possesses the following miniatures painted with this end in view, the descriptions being copied from Trumbull's annotations on the back.

1. FOR "THE TREATY WITH FRANCE":

Arthur Lee, Esq., of Alexandria, Virginia, "one of the Commissioners of the United States of America at their first Treaty with France." Painted at New York, 1790.

2. FOR "THE BATTLE OF EUTAW SPRINGS":

Major-General Nathanael Greene, "Commander of the Armies in the Southern Department." Painted in Philadelphia, 1792, "from the only original picture remaining" (probably from the portrait in C. W. Peale's Museum).

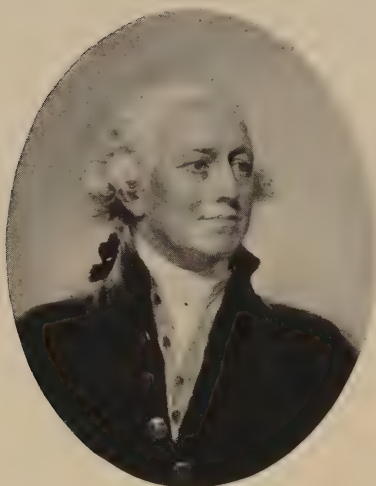
Captain Manning, of Lee's Legion "distinguished by his gallantry at the Battle of Eutaw Springs under Gen'l Greene." Painted at Charleston, So. Carolina, 1791.

Colonel O. H. Williams, Adjutant-General under General Greene. Painted at Philadelphia, 1790.

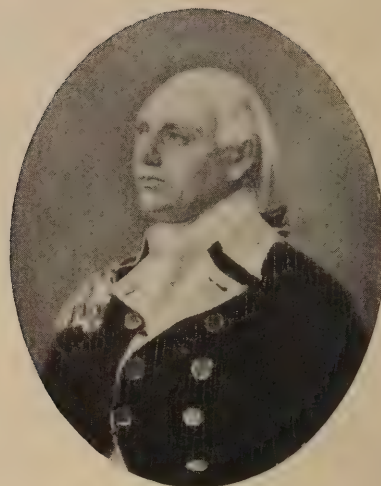
3. FOR "THE TREATY OF PEACE":

John Adams, "one of her Ministers at the conclusion of peace with G. Britain in 1783." Painted at Philadelphia, 1792.

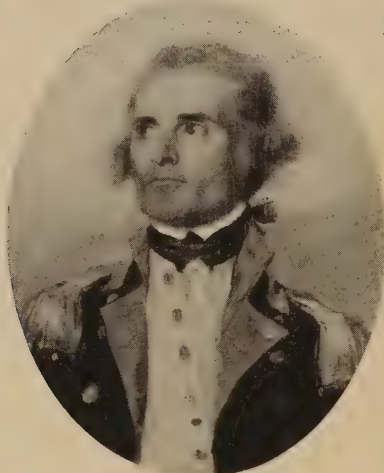
George Hammond, Esq., "first Minister (Plenipotentiary) of Great Brit-



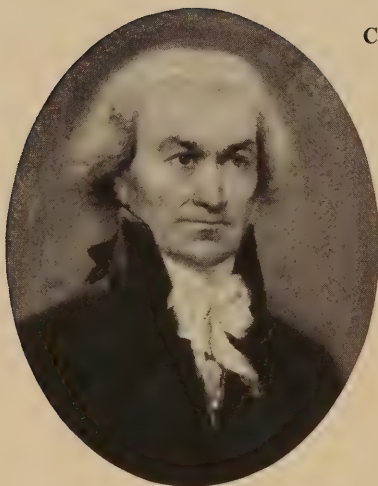
R. IZARD
U.S. Sen., 1793



RUFUS PUTNAM
Brig. Gen., 1790



COL. WM. STEVENS
1790



OLIVER ELLSWORTH
U.S. Sen., 1792



CHAS. C. PINCKNEY
1791

ain to America, & Sec'y to the Commissioners for concluding Peace between the two countries in 1783." Painted in Philadelphia, 1793.

William Temple Franklin, Esq., Secretary "of the American Commissioners at the treaty with G Britain, 1783." Painted in Philadelphia, 1790.

John Jay, Esq., "one of the (ministers
members) at the conclusion of peace with Great Britain, 1783." Painted at Philadelphia, 1793.

Henry Laurens, Esq., "one of the commissioners on the part of America at the Treaty with G Britain 1783." Painted in Charleston, So. Carolina, 1791.

FOR OTHER HISTORICAL WORKS.

Apparently Trumbull had in mind the painting of other Revolutionary scenes: "The Siege of Savannah," "The Attack on Charleston," "Washington's Inauguration" and "The Arch at Trenton," as Yale possesses the following miniatures bearing Trumbull's endorsement.

Colonel Grimke, "of the American Artillery at the Siege of Savannah." Painted in Charleston, South Carolina, 1791.

Colonel Charles (Cotesworth?) Pinckney, who commanded a regiment "at the Attack of Savannah." Painted at Charleston, South Carolina, 1791.

Thomas Pinckney, "at the Attack of Savannah." Painted at North Carolina, 1791.

John Rutledge, Esq., Governor of the State of Carolina. Painted at Charleston, South Carolina, 1791.

William Moultrie, Esq., who "commanded at Sullivan's Island, Charleston, against the attack of Sir Peter Parker." Painted at Charleston, South Carolina, 1791.

FOR "THE INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON":

Yale owns the following, all endorsed as having been present on that occasion:

Fisher Ames, Esq., Representative from Massachusetts. Painted at Philadelphia, 1792.

Egbert Benson, Esq., Representative from New York.

John Brown, Esq., Representative from Virginia. Painted at Philadelphia, 1792.

Tristram Dalton, Esq., Senator from Massachusetts. Painted in Philadelphia, 1792.

Oliver Ellsworth, Esq., Senator from Connecticut. Painted at Philadelphia, 1792.

Ralph Izard, Esq., Senator from South Carolina. Painted at Philadelphia, 179(2)?

John Jay, first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Painted in 1793.

John Langdon, Esq., Senator from New Hampshire. Painted in Philadelphia, 1792.

Rufus King, Esq., Senator from New York. Painted in Philadelphia, 1792.

S. Livermore, U.S. Senate, 1791. No inscription on back.

Thomas Mifflin, Esq., "President of Congress." Painted at Philadelphia, 1790.

Theodore Sedgwick, Esq., Representative from Massachusetts. Painted in Philadelphia, 1792.

William Smith, Esq., Representative from South Carolina. Painted at Philadelphia, 1792.

Martha Washington. Painted in Philadelphia, 1792.

Jonathan Trumbull, Esq., Representative from Connecticut. Painted at Philadelphia, 1792.

Trumbull may have planned to paint the incident of the murder of Miss McCrea, as at the Silliman sale were three sketches, one endorsed "Miss McCrea, Fort Edward, 1787," another, a preliminary outline sketch in ink, and another containing three sketches in detail (Nos. 32, 33 and 34). It is probable that the miniatures of Indians owned by Yale were for use in this picture. They are as follows:

THE INFANT. "A chief of the Six Nations, six feet four inches high, and wearing his beard as in the picture, in his War Dress." Painted in Philadelphia, 1792.

GOOD PETER. A Chief of the Six Nations, and Great Orator as well as Warrior. Aged 75. Painted in Philadelphia, 1792.

THE YOUNG SACHEM, a Young Chief of the Six Nations. Painted in Philadelphia, 1792.



SOPHIA CHEW
1793



JULIA SEYMOUR
1792



MRS. WASHINGTON
1792



CATHERINE WADSWORTH
1792



HARRIET CHEW
1793

There are a number of other miniatures in the collection and those painted after 1824 were no doubt done in the course of Trumbull's profession. But those painted between the years 1790 and 1794, especially those of women, were intended for use in other Revolutionary scenes; possibly "The Evacuation of New York," "The Inauguration of Washington," and "The Arch at Trenton," where women would properly have been part of the scene. We know that Trumbull planned these because in his announcement to obtain subscriptions for proposed engravings these three are mentioned.

A list of the remaining miniatures is as follows:

W. Allen. Painted in 1827.

John C. Calhoun (Yale, 1804), Vice President of the United States. Painted in 1827.

Sign^r Cerracchi, of Rome. Painted at Philadelphia, 1792.

Harriet Chew. Painted at Philadelphia, 1793.

Sophia Chew. Painted at Philadelphia, 1793.

Dwight, Member of Congress, 1827. No inscription.

Lemuel Hopkins, M.D., of Hartford in Connect. AET 44. Principal author of the *Anarchiad*. Painted December, 1793.

Judge Oakley, 1827. No inscription.

D. B. Ogden, 1827.

Cornelia Schuyler, daughter of General Schuyler. Painted at Philadelphia, 1792.

Julia Seymour, daughter of Thomas Seymour, Esq., of Hartford, Connecticut. Painted at Lebanon, 1792.

Faith Trumbull, eldest daughter of Jonⁿ Trumbull, Esq., of Lebanon. Painted at Hartford, 1791.

Faith Trumbull, wife of Gov^r Trumbull, died at Lebanon May, 1780, aged 62. Painted at Lebanon, 1793. Copied from one done by him from the life in 1779.

John Trumbull, author of *McFingal*. Painted November, 179(4).

Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of the State of Connecticut during the Revolution of America by the choice of the People. Died 1785, aged 75. Painted at Lebanon in Connecticut, 1793; from a picture done from the life by him in 1783.

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Catharine Wadsworth, daughter of Jere Wadsworth, Esq., of Hartford, Connecticut. Painted at Philadelphia, 1792.

Miss Harriet Wadsworth, died at Bermuda, April, 1793. Painted from memory in July of the same year.

Note A.

Trumbull's controversy with John Randolph of Roanoke.

Trumbull did not cease his efforts to be commissioned to fill the remaining panels of the Rotunda with enlargements of his historical scenes already completed or thereafter to be composed, and his importunities came to a head when in 1828 Mr. Everett moved to amend a resolution then before Congress so as to read as follows:

That the Committee of the House of Representatives on the Library be instructed to inquire into the expediency of taking suitable measures, at this time, to procure a series of historical paintings for the empty panels of the Rotunda.

John Randolph of Roanoke thereupon took the floor and gave to "The Declaration of Independence" the nickname of "The Shin Piece," by which it has ever after been known. The report of his remarks is as follows:

Mr. Randolph said, that he should vote against the amendment, and he should state, in the fewest possible words, why he should do so. Many years ago, said he, when Congress sat in the brick building to the left of this room, a proposition not dissimilar to this was brought forward, and referred to a Committee, of which Committee I was one. The result of that proposition is seen now in the Rotundo: it ended in that. I should have contented myself with saying nothing on this subject, if I had not seen my name in one of the Annularies of this country—I think it was called the American Annual Register, printed at Philadelphia, I believe—it is some time since I saw it—represented as having expressed a very high opinion, whether of these paintings themselves, or of the original sketches of these paintings, I forget. That book, with this representation in it, will go down, not to posterity, perhaps, but to the next generation—it will go no farther—with ten thousand thousands of other books, and other misrepresentations not quite of so harmless a character. Now, as in that representation an opinion has been expressed for me, in justice to myself, as possessing the slightest possible pretension to the character of a man of taste, I protest against the whole of these paintings. If this proposition for amendment is to have a similar effect, it will not redound either to the honor of this body, or that of the parties to be represented on such canvass, and in such a manner. Mr. R. here disclaimed a disposition to say anything to wound the feelings of anyone—of an artist particularly, because artists are, probably, *genus irritabile*, because genius is easily excited—but, he said, he hardly ever passed

through that avenue (the Rotundo) to this Hall (which was almost every day, the other avenues to it being nearly impassable), without feeling shamed of the state of the Arts in this country; and, as the pieces of the great masters of the art have, among the *cognoscenti*, acquired a sort of *nom de guerre*, so ought, in his opinion, the picture of the Declaration of Independence to be called the Shin-piece; for, surely, never was there, before, such a collection of legs submitted to the eyes of man. (*National Intelligencer*, January 10, 1828.)

Randolph's characterization of the painting as "The Shin Piece" was only "smart" ridicule meant to catch the public ear, as the composition little deserves the name. Of the forty-eight figures shown, the shins of only eight are visible,—a truly remarkable achievement in composition. The remarks of John Randolph evidently gave great offense to Trumbull's sensitive nature and after the custom of the time he burst into print and there appeared in the *N. Y. Gazette & General Advertiser*, New York, January 22, 1828, the following:

In the debate in the House of Representatives, a few days since, on the resolution to employ a person to paint a picture of the Battle of New-Orleans, to be placed in the Rotunda of the Capitol, Mr. Randolph took occasion, in the course of his remarks, to make some wanton and unjustifiable allusions to Col. Trumbull, of this city, some of the productions of whose pencil now adorn the Capitol. The *Daily Advertiser* of yesterday contains the annexed dignified and happy reply from that eminent artist, which will, no doubt, gratify his numerous friends. It will be observed that age has not blunted the vigor of his pen.

Washington, Jan. 13th, 1828.

T. Dwight, Esq. New York.

Dear Sir.—The newspapers will have shown you that in the memorable Battle of the 9th, the mangled bodies of all the painters strewed the bloody field; Allston, Morse, and myself all fell, but we fell gloriously by the side of the immortal Hero of the Day:—You will see that I in particular, was most barbarously tomahawked and scalped by the unrelenting hand of the halfbreed chief of Roanoke—and saddest of all to say, by the faithless hand of him who had once been my friend.

To speak seriously, it was my fate to be selected on that occasion, by the Hon. John Randolph, of Roanoke, as the butt of his merciless sarcasms.

But, when Mr. Randolph, in his exordium, assigned as the cause of his taking a part in the debate, "the misrepresentations of some obscure annuary published in Philadelphia, in which it was erroneously stated, that he had been partly instrumental in procuring those wretched specimens of the state of the Fine Arts in this country," he, unfortunately for himself, gave demonstration of a fact of which the world was not before aware. It is evident that his body is in a state of decay;—but it remained for himself to give the melancholy but irresistible evidence of mental decrepitude: the loss of memory is one of the most unhappy proofs of the rapid approach of that sad hour "when he will be as if he had not been, and been most witty."

The gentlemen had forgotten that the *National Intelligencer* of the 28th of January, 1817,

after stating the arguments on the subject of the four Paintings, *records his name*, Mr. Randolph, among those who spoke in favor of the work, as well as in favor of employing me to perform it.

The gentleman also forgot that persons are still living who heard that debate, and who retain a fresh and vivid recollection of the brilliant and beautiful eulogium which he then pronounced upon the small picture of the Declaration of Independence, the prototype of that large one which he now so sneeringly abuses.

The gentleman forgot what some others most distinctly recollect—that he then called the attention of the house to the portrait of Richard Henry Lee, (whose *shins* are the most conspicuous *shins* in the picture,) and pointing to the figure, he exclaimed “Small as this picture is, I seem to see that venerable man sitting in person before me, in all the sober dignity of a Senator of ancient Rome, in that elegant attitude so habitual to him, and so well remembered by me; the right hand laid over the left, concealing so happily and so delicately its mutilated remains.”

Mr. Randolph forgot, that a copy of the National Intelligencer was at that moment in the Library of Congress—where it now lies open to the inspection of every one; convicting him either of loss of memory, or of something incomparably worse; that human memory should decay as age advances, is the decree of Him who formed us, and though we may deplore, we cannot blame; but the alternative, *malignity*, is the vile and voluntary production of a wicked heart—of that, I am reluctant to admit the most remote suspicion.

When, however, a member of the House of Representatives stoops from his high estate, and, forgetting his duty, becomes, not the protector, but the slanderer of individual reputation, he should be reminded that although within those sacred walls, he is privileged to indulge in ample liberty of speech and ramble on for hours in all the licentious revellings of wit or of folly, if his colleagues, amused by his wanton eccentricities, are willing to endure him; still, there is a limit which it is not wise to pass—for happily, the Constitution reserves to every individual of us, the sovereign people, the same free and equal liberty of speech wherewith to defend our characters out of doors, as any Representative can assume to abuse and vilify us within.

Generous minds will all also recollect that the professional reputation of an Artist, like the fair fame of woman, is a delicate plant, easily blighted by any pestilent breath—and that although it may be sport to some, to indulge in ribald criticisms at our expense—yet, it is death to us.

I make this reply to Mr. Randolph with feelings of deep regret, for I had indulged the hope that his former friendly disposition towards me would have been continued through life;—and that his elegant education, his ample fortune, and his retired mode of life, might have induced him to become an eminent patron and protector of the Fine Arts.

I am Dear Sir,

Your obliged and faithful servant,

JOHN TRUMBULL.

Trumbull's charge that Randolph was inconsistent is not justified by the facts, because Randolph's eulogy, printed January 28, 1817, was, of course, in regard to the small painting now at Yale University and then on exhibition in the Capitol, and not of the enlargement which had not yet been even begun, and his criticism was borne out by the enlarged canvas before his eyes. Knowing the fiery temper of the representative from Virginia, Trumbull evidently expected to be called to account for his remarks, be-

cause among his papers* was found the draft of a letter endorsed, "Sketch of a reply to a possible invitation from the Hon. Member from Roanoke, Jan^y. 1828," as follows:

Your invitation of—is before me—I beg leave to say in reply that I have done with fighting—the last of my fields was on Quaker Windmill Hills, Rhode Island, the day after the Siege of Newport was raised in Oct 1778, just fifty years ago—on that day I smelt gunpowder eno' to last you thro' life. & since then I have eschewed all use of Cold Steel & Lead . . . in truth Sir it would be a very silly thing for an old man of 72—somewhat portly in person, to expose himself in single combat with a young gentleman whose elegant slender figure affords no better mark for a pistol ball, than a stripped corn stalk.—No reciprocity at all, Sir,—nor the slightest degree of reciprocity, Sir I will have none of it. . . .

It is not known whether any thought of a duel ever entered Randolph's mind as, in a letter to the writer, the Hon. William Cabell Bruce, author of *John Randolph of Roanoke*, states that no note of a proposed meeting was found by him in his extensive examination of the Randolph papers.

Note B.

Other replicas of the historical paintings at Yale University.

The eight original paintings at Yale should not be confounded with the enlargements, six by nine feet, which Trumbull made late in life. Of these, Trumbull wrote:

The large set of Revolutionary paintings was not included in this contract (*i.e.*, the contract with Yale, Dec. 1831) and indeed, at its date, they did not exist, having been painted since. Five of the series are finished, and should my long life be still further prolonged, I trust they will all be completed, . . . (*Reminiscences*, p. 294.)

These five canvases painted after 1831 and probably before 1840, when Trumbull was about eighty years old, were purchased by the Wadsworth Athenæum of Hartford in 1844 from the artist's estate. Of these Professor John F. Weir has written:

The third period from 1824 to his death in 1843, include numerous pictures of various kinds executed in his old age, nearly all of which should have been destroyed.

* Courtesy of The Fridenberg Galleries, New York.

Notably the replicas of his earlier historical works, now in the Wadsworth Athenæum. (*John Trumbull and His Works*, John F. Weir, p. 42.)

See also comment on these paintings contained in *John Trumbull*, by John Durand, p. 18. Estes & Lauriat, Boston, 1881.

Note C.

Stuart's Portrait of Trumbull.

In 1840 Trumbull presented to the Pilgrim's Society of Plymouth, Mass., his portrait painted by Stuart. His letter to Dr. James Thacher, for many years Librarian of the Society, is as follows:

New Haven, 14th Mar., 1840

Dear Sir,—

The picture which I promised to send you for Pilgrim's Hall is packed and placed in the hands of Mr. John Thomas, your friend in N. York, to be forwarded.

You are aware that I was arrested and committed to prison in London in the year 1780, and liberated in June 1781. As soon as I was at liberty, my friend Stewart, who died lately in Boston, and who was then a student with Mr. West, painted the *face* of this portrait. I painted the other parts, it is probably more curious from this fact, than for its likeness. Such as it is, I beg thro' you to offer it to the Pilgrim's Society, for their Hall, and am, Dr. Sir, with sincere esteem Your Servant and friend,

JNO TRUMBULL.

(From the Massachusetts Historical Society Bulletin, February, 1914, page 271.)

This portrait has always been supposed to have been painted while Trumbull was actually incarcerated at Tothill-fields, Bridewell, after his arrest in reprisal for the hanging of Major André, and it is so stated in Mason's *Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart*, page 64. However, it would seem as if Trumbull himself should know the circumstances. Trumbull was liberated early in June upon his agreement to leave the kingdom at once, and he tells us in his *Reminiscences*, p. 78, that he left in July of 1781 for Amsterdam. Stuart was at the time a student under West. The probabilities are that this portrait was painted in West's studio in June, 1781.

*Note D.**Trumbull's Reply to the Protests of the Virginia Delegation.*

Trumbull exhibited his enlargement of The Declaration of Independence in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, and had reached Baltimore on his journey southward, where it was exhibited from February 2 to February 13, 1819. Evidently some Virginian had viewed the painting, or a description had appeared in the press, which was followed by a protest from the Virginia delegation in Congress, complaining that Trumbull had not included among the portraits three of the Signers from Virginia.

Trumbull's reply dated Washington, February 18, 1819, was lately sold at auction and is as follows:*

I have received your note of this day in which you ask me in strong language why "I have excluded" etc. I beg you to believe that it never entered my mind to exclude from the painting in question anyone of those glorious men who aided in establishing the Independence of the U. S.—on the contrary there exists not & never did exist a painting, the authenticity of which was so carefully & laboriously aimed at as this. I traveled from London to Paris, from Europe to America, from New Hampshire to South Carolina . . . in search of the resemblances of those venerable patriots—all who were living, I saw, & painted from the life; of those who were dead I copied such portraits as I could find.

The three Gentlemen whom you name as part of the Virginia delegation whom I have "excluded"—were dead, and I could find no portraits of them; . . . and I really thought that the lapse of more than thirty years since the commencement of the painting under the particular auspices of my friend Mr. Jefferson was sufficient to have excused omissions for which it appears to me that death, is answerable, & not Gentlemen Your most obedient Servant. . . .

Major John André.

1751-1780.

A curious circumstance has linked together the names of André, Trumbull and Nathan Hale which makes the reproduction of this portrait sketch appropriate in a Yale publication.

* At Auction sale of the Turner-Munn letters and manuscripts, American Art Association, New York, January 21 and 22, 1926.



MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ.

FROM THE SKETCH IN INK MADE BY HIM ON THE DAY OF HIS EXECUTION,
IN THE YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

The hanging of Nathan Hale (Yale, 1773), so young and so fearless, has made him one of the romantic figures of the Revolution: It was the memory of his fate which no doubt made it impossible for Washington to yield to the urge of mercy and spare André and even bade him refuse his request to be shot: It was the arrival of the news in London of the hanging of André which caused Trumbull's arrest and incarceration for many months.

The noble words of Nathan Hale uttered just previous to his execution have been an inspiration not alone to the sons of Yale, but to five generations of Americans. It is not ungenerous, therefore, to recount again the circumstances which led to the making of this portrait of André and pay tribute to the memory of a brave officer and gallant gentleman, who suffered a similarly tragic end.

John André was born in London in 1751 of Swiss parentage. Finding himself unsuited to mercantile life he entered the British Army in 1771. Ordered to the American Colonies in 1774 as Lieutenant of the Royal English Fusiliers he was captured by General Montgomery at St. Johns early in the Revolution. Exchanged after a time he served with some distinction under Sir William Howe in Philadelphia and Sir Henry Clinton in New York; "his varied and graceful talents" (says Washington Irving) rendered him generally popular.*

Benedict Arnold, having opened correspondence under an assumed name with General Clinton, with a view to the surrender of West Point, the latter sent his Adjutant, John André, to complete the bargain. André met Arnold on the west side of the Hudson River about six miles below Stony Point and expected to return by the warship Vulture which had brought him from New York, but through mischance was forced to make the attempt by land. Persuaded to discard his uniform in order to make the journey more safely, he was intercepted not far from Tarrytown by four militiamen, at a moment when he had almost reached the British lines. On his person were found a pass from Arnold, a plan of West Point, and the arranged details for an attack which was to have been made in a few days. The capture of West Point might have brought a very different end to the Revolution. His captors delivered him to Lieutenant-Colonel

* *Life of Washington*, by Washington Irving, Vol. IV, p. 110. G. P. Putnam & Co., 1857.

Jameson at North Castle and he was placed under the immediate control of Major Benjamin Tallmadge (Yale, 1773). Washington, who had gone to Hartford for an interview with the French officers, having been advised of Arnold's treason, hastened to West Point and immediately directed that every precaution should be taken to prevent André's escape. Major Tallmadge continued in charge of André, and on the morning of September 28, 1780, conveyed his prisoner in a barge to Kings Ferry and from there on horseback to Tappan, where the trial was to take place. Irving tells the story of André's trial as follows:

Washington considered the circumstances under which André had been taken such as would have justified the most summary proceedings, but he determined to refer the case to the examination and decision of a board of general officers, which he convened on the 29th of September, the day after his arrival at Tappan. It was composed of six major-generals, Greene, Stirling, St. Clair, Lafayette, R. Howe, and Steuben; and eight brigadiers, Parsons, James Clinton, Knox, Glover, Paterson, Hand, Huntingdon, and Stark. General Greene, who was well versed in military law, and was a man of sound head and kind heart, was president and Colonel John Lawrence, judge advocate-general.

Colonel Alexander Hamilton, who, like Tallmadge, had been drawn to André in his misfortunes, as had most of the young American officers, gives, in his letters to his friends, many interesting particulars concerning the conduct of the prisoner. "When brought before the board of officers," writes he, "he met with every mark of indulgence, and was required to answer no interrogatory which would even embarrass his feelings. On his part, while he carefully concealed everything that might implicate others, he frankly confessed all the facts relating to himself, and upon his confession, without the trouble of examining a witness, the board made up their report.

It briefly stated the circumstances of the case, and concluded with the opinion of the court, that Major André, adjutant-general of the British army, ought to be considered a spy from the enemy, and, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, ought to suffer death. In a conversation with Hamilton, André acknowledged the candor, liberality and indulgence with which the board had conducted themselves in their painful inquiry. He met the result with manly firmness. "I foresee my fate," said he, "and though I pretend not to play the hero, or to be indifferent about life, yet I am reconciled to whatever may happen; conscious that misfortune, not guilt, has brought it upon me."

The execution was to have taken place at five o'clock on the afternoon of October 1st, but was postponed because of the strenuous representations of Sir Henry Clinton, who made every effort to save his friend, and the im-

pertinent interference of Arnold, who claimed that André, having landed under a flag of truce, had been given safe conduct by him.

During this day of respite André had conducted himself with his usual tranquility. A likeness of himself, seated at a table in his guard-room, which he sketched with a pen and gave to the officer on guard, is still extant. It being announced to him that one o'clock on the following day was fixed on for his execution, he remarked, that since it was his lot to die, there was still a choice in the mode;

and he besought Washington to adapt his mode of death to the feelings of a man of honor.

On the morning of the 2d, he maintained a calm demeanor, though all around him were gloomy and silent. He even rebuked his servant for shedding tears. Having breakfasted, he dressed himself with care in the full uniform of a British officer, which he had sent for to New York, placed his hat upon the table, and accosting the officers on guard—"I am ready," said he, "at any moment, gentlemen, to wait upon you."

He walked to the place of execution between two subaltern officers, arm in arm, with a serene countenance, bowing to several gentlemen whom he knew. Colonel Tallmadge accompanied him, and we quote his words. "When he came within sight of the gibbet, he appeared to be startled, and inquired with some emotion whether he was not to be shot. Being informed that the mode first appointed for his death could not consistently be altered, he exclaimed, 'How hard is my fate!' but immediately added, 'it will soon be over.' I then shook hands with him under the gallows and retired." [MMS. of Col. B. Tallmadge in possession of his daughter, Mrs. J. P. Cushman, of Troy, N. Y.]

Taking off his hat and stock, and opening his shirt collar, he deliberately adjusted the noose to his neck, after which he took out a handkerchief and tied it over his eyes. Being told by an officer in command that his arms must be bound, he drew out a second handkerchief with which they were pinioned. Colonel Scammel now told him that he had an opportunity to speak, if he desired it. His only reply was, "I pray you to bear witness that I meet my fate like a brave man." The wagon moved from under him, and left him suspended. He died almost without a struggle. . . . His remains were interred within a few yards of the place of his execution; whence they were transferred to England in 1821, by the British consul, then resident in New York, and were buried in Westminster Abbey, near a mural monument which had been erected to his memory.*

The tragic end of André is only comparable with that of Nathan Hale

* The quotations are taken from Irving's *Life of Washington*, *supra*, pp. 137-164.

and has aroused through the passing years most widespread and universal sympathy.

Of the military court which tried André, in the Trumbull Gallery are the portraits of Major Generals Greene, Lafayette and Steuben, of Brigadier Generals James Clinton, Knox, Glover, Hand, Huntingdon and Stark, of others who were intimately connected therewith, are the portraits of General Washington, Colonel Alexander Hamilton and Major Alexander Scammell.

The letter presenting the pen portrait of André to Yale College is as follows:

New Haven, August 8th, 1832.

To Jeremiah Day; D.D., President of Yale College.

Dear Sir,—It affords me pleasure, as the agent of Jabez L. Tomlinson, Esq., of Stratford, (the father of our late Governor,) and of Nathan Beers, Esq., of this city, to request your acceptance of the accompanying miniature of Major John André, Adjutant General of the British army during the revolutionary war. The melancholy fate of that accomplished gentleman excited such universal grief in the hearts of his countrymen, and such undisguised sympathy in the hearts of his foes, that it is presumed this memorial may be viewed with interest, and be deemed worthy of preservation among the historical collections of the college. Although the gift, without some explanation, might appear to be trivial, yet it possesses an *incidental value* that renders it truly interesting.

It is the likeness of Major André, seated at a table in his guard room, drawn by himself with a pen, on the morning of the day fixed for his execution. Mr. Tomlinson informs me that a respite was granted until the next day, and that this miniature was in the mean time presented to him, (then acting as officer of the guard,) by Major André himself. Mr. Tomlinson was present when the sketch was made, and says it was drawn without the aid of a glass.

The sketch was subsequently passed into the hands of Deacon Beers, a fellow officer of Mr. Tomlinson on the station, and from thence was transferred to me. It has been in my possession for several years.

While the high character of the officers who have preserved since the revolution this interesting memorial of a lamented victim to the necessary usages of war, places its genuineness beyond doubt, it may be remarked that its accuracy as a likeness is rendered probable, from the circumstance that Major André was accustomed to delineate, as an amusement, the outlines of his face and person.

The London edition of Joshua Smith's narrative of Arnold's treason, and of his personal connection with André in his attempt to escape, has a frontispiece, exhibiting

the likeness of Major André. It is noted by the engraver as a copy from a portrait by Major André himself, now (or then) in the possession of his relatives in England. I have compared the sketch with that engraving, and thought that I could discern in the outlines a striking similarity.

Mr. Tomlinson and Mr. Beers were officers in the regular line of the army at the time of Major André's execution. I believe they severally held the rank of lieutenant.

With great respect,

Your friend and obedient servant,

EBENEZER BALDWIN.

